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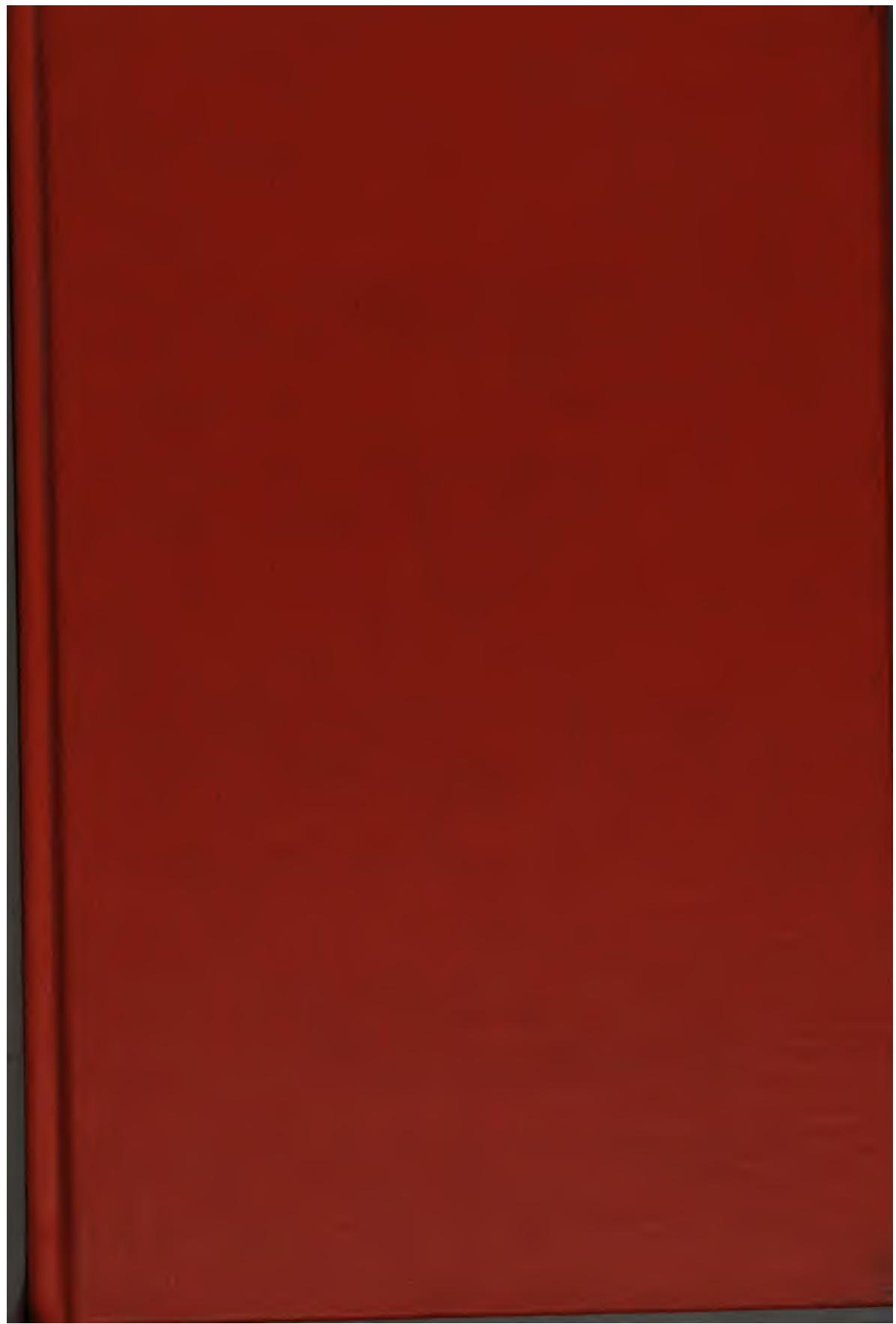
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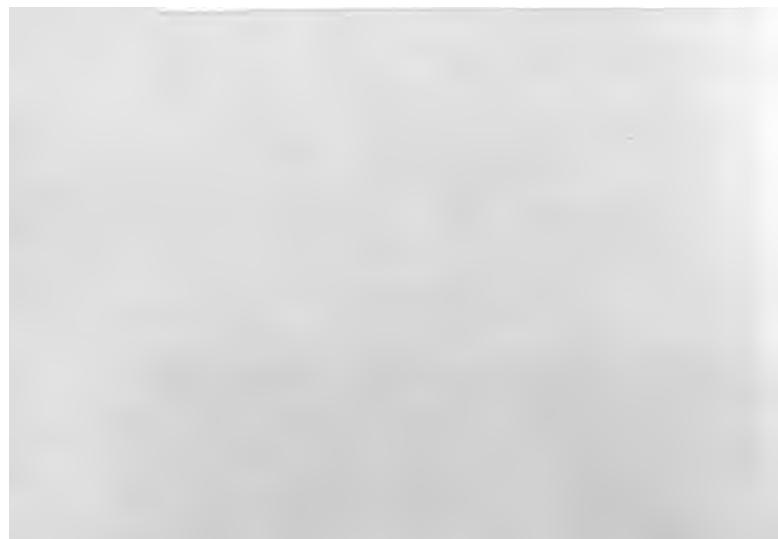
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Four Southern Magazines.

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO

The Faculty of the University of Virginia as a
Part of the Requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy.

BY

EDWARD REINHOLD ROGERS.

June, 1902.

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PREFACE.

The four chapters of this brief discussion are limited to four of the principal *ante-bellum* Southern magazines—namely, *DeBow's Review*, of New Orleans; *The Southern Review*, of Charleston, S. C.; *The Southern Quarterly Review*, also of Charleston, S. C.; and *The Southern Literary Messenger*, of Richmond, Virginia. A larger work was at first anticipated, and much material is now on hand for a more complete historical account of Southern periodical literature as a whole, a work which we hope to finish soon; but the scope and indefiniteness of such a task and the difficulties of the undertaking have been found too great to admit of completion at this time. Furthermore, it is to be noted that the magazines here discussed are not in all cases chosen because of their supposed superiority in literary merit to all other Southern magazines, for in that case at least one should give place to *Russell's Magazine*, or perhaps to others; but they are selected because they are not only valuable from a literary standpoint, but are also of earlier origin than others of like merit.

Again, in the summary given in the Introduction, no attempt has been made to include denominational, agricultural, or technical publications.

Owing to the very great differences in the magazines themselves, it has been thought best to adopt different methods of treatment in the discussion of each one; for example, the comparatively small issue of the *Southern Review* has made possible a more critical discussion than was found expedient in the case of such long issues as those of *The Messenger* and *DeBow's Review*.

A further limitation will be found in the Appendix, wherein is contained an alphabetical list of contributors, with their contributions to *The Southern Literary Messenger* and to *DeBow's*

Review. The other two magazines are not included in this list, for the reason that very few of their contributions are signed, and, consequently, it is practically impossible to procure a complete or even a helpfully large list of writers. Moreover, let it be noted that the index here given is made from the magazines themselves, and hence does not pretend to the completeness that could be obtained were it practicable to use all available outside means of determining the authorship of unsigned articles. It is hoped that this limitation will not altogether prevent the list from being helpful in proportion to the labor of its compilation.

The difficulties in the preparation of the work have been great and, in some cases, so insurmountable as to necessitate leaving incomplete important parts of the discussion. The chief of these difficulties have been: The scarcity of sets of the magazines, the lack of conveniences and facilities in some of the libraries visited, the poor indexing of the volumes themselves, and the dearth of collected information about Southern periodicals. In this latter respect, the statements of such standard reference books as Poole's "Index of Periodical Literature" are more often inaccurate and misleading than strictly correct. Not a few libraries, moreover, have been visited in search of complete sets of the magazines, but in none have there been found all the volumes of either *The Southern Quarterly* or *DeBow's Review*.

For continued kindness and assistance we are greatly indebted to the officials of the library of the University of Virginia, the State Library, in Richmond, Va., the Library of Congress, the Mechanics' Library, in Petersburg, Va.; the Library of Randolph-Macon College, and the Virginia Historical Society.

Especially are our thanks due to Dr. Charles W. Kent and Professor James A. Harrison for helpful suggestions, and to Mr. B. B. Minor and Miss Burwell for valuable information about *The Southern Literary Messenger* and *DeBow's Review*, respectively.

E. R. R.

Richmond, Va., 1902.

INTRODUCTION.

A great deal has been written about *ante-bellum* conditions in the South, and no little theorizing has been indulged in by writers who have often lacked first-hand knowledge of the subject; on the other hand, there have been some masterly attempts to give the great sociological question adequate treatment. Nevertheless we still lack a complete and scientifically accurate history of the complexities and contending forces that were active in the Southern States from the beginning of the century to the time of the civil war. We do not propose to enter upon a discussion of this extensive question, except in so far as a preliminary consideration will be helpful to a fuller comprehension of the conditions under which the Southern magazines had their beginning; and as this will necessarily render the discussion of some phases of Southern life and development palpably incomplete, let it be borne in mind that we seek the relations of the conditions to periodical literature alone, and to general literature only in so far as such a relation has an important influence upon magazine support, contributions and editorship. Obviously, then, the limits of our discussion do not admit of extended historical review.

If we would understand the later years of a people's literature, we must understand the conditions that existed in the earlier years, when formative agencies were most active, and when, consequently, the character of later periods was in large measure determined. For this purpose, then, we shall briefly review the first years of Southern settlement, and endeavor to find in what respects the original conditions of the colonists have influenced and moulded the general literature, and especially the periodical literature of the section.

First, let us note what sort of colonists they were who settled in the South and what they sought, for this latter inquiry is vital if we would know what results to expect. Without elaborating the colonial history of the Southern part of the country, it is for our purposes sufficient to say that the colonists may be divided into four classes—first, deported criminals, constituting but an inconsiderable portion of the colonial population; second, fortune seekers, whose generally fulfilled purpose was an early return to Europe, and who may therefore be considered to have exercised only an irregular influence on the genesis of the people's character, but this influence was neither inconsiderable nor beneficial; third, those who sought permanent homes, and whose chief motive in leaving the other countries was to find in a newer, warmer and more productive region a less strenuous life of freedom from toil and governmental restraint; and, fourth, those who sought a refuge from oppression because of religion. Omitting, as unimportant for our consideration, the first of these classes, for not all the States had such settlers, and in none was their influence long formative, we should bear in mind that the second class was far more considerable in its permanent influence. The frequent return of fortune hunters, after a few years of disappointment and restlessness in the colonies, was a constant and potent influence against stability, and only too frequently led to dissatisfaction and turbulence among those who remained. The third class undoubtedly includes the great majority of Southern settlers, while a much smaller number would be included in the fourth class, the refugees from religious intolerance. In this fact there is the most marked contrast with the New England colonies, where, in point of numbers, the two classes would have to be reversed; and the difference here is surely the cause of other and later differences.

While the Massachusetts settler was debating in his town assembly or in the church the great questions of theology, training his intellect and practicing his pen by frequent expositions of the laws of punishment and grace, the Southern colonist, iso-

lated from his fellows by miles of uninhabited territory, was leading a life comparatively without exertion or stimulus to the higher orders of intellectual activity. What if he did read the gay songs of the Restoration, or laugh with Mr. Dryden when the satirist thrust home? That was but appreciation of the creative work of others; and it was consistent with his easy-going mode of life that he should be content, though merely receptive, while his New England neighbor was adding fancy to fancy in the imagination of the "day of doom," or adding to description the white-hot eloquence of a living faith in the terrors of "Sinners before an angry God." Thus it is possible to trace the influence of the motive that so often impelled Southern settlers; and it would have been a most unaccountable phenomenon had the tendency to creative work been as pronounced in the ease-seeking Southerner as in the more industrious New Englander. The sum of the various affecting causes lies in the fact that the latter was vitally interested; the former was not. And, moreover, the object of the New Englander's interest was one that demanded literary expression, while the Southerner's practical concern with agriculture tended to no such end; but these are only evidences of the fundamental and vastly effective difference that lies in the fact that the Southern settler was seeking ease, while the Northern colonist was ready to endure labors of composition because of his moving interest in beliefs and principles.

What, it may be asked, were the causes of so radical a difference in men so nearly related in many ways, as were the colonists of New England and the South? First of all, the geographical dissimilarity of the two sections. Even before the English poets were lauding Virginia as "earth's only paradise," and writing in correspondingly glowing terms of the more Southern districts, travellers had carried back to the old countries exaggerated accounts of the mineral and agricultural wealth of the Southern coast, and rumor was rife with reports of the tropical luxuriance and fertility of the country. The spirit that had sent

Spaniards on fruitless quests for El Dorado and the Fountain of Youth was still potent, and many an Englishman set out for the new land in the full expectation of there escaping the necessity for exertion in obtaining a livelihood. The rock-bound and comparatively sterile coast of New England was no lure for such colonists, and so was left an asylum for a more energetic and industrious people. This is no fanciful distinction, but a very real and effective difference, whose importance is apparent if we consider how vast has been the resulting disparity of literary production. It should be clearly seen, too, that this is not an attempt to account for divergence from a common starting point by people of the same class, but an endeavor to show that from the outset there are two very different classes, drawn apart by the varying attractions of two widely dissimilar regions.

A second cause of the differing tendencies towards literary activity in the two sections is to be sought in the consideration of the difference in preliminary training. In the old country, as in the new, difference of purposes and interests had been accompanied by and had caused difference of pursuits, and the settlers of New England were, as a whole, better trained for writing than the generality of Southern colonists. A striking evidence of this is found in the fact that a far greater proportion of the former than of the latter were college-bred men and students.

Unfortunately these influences were not transient in their influence; for not only were they strengthened by the continual advent of new settlers so actuated and conditioned, but because of their wide generality at the beginning of colonization they led to the establishment of a popular disinclination to book writing, which has always exercised a baneful influence upon Southern letters. Then, too, as the population of the Southern colonies increased there was no corresponding increase in the population of cities, but rather a tendency away from the towns to the isolated life of the plantations. In this last fact lies, perhaps, the best explanation of the slow progress made by education. Although the homes of the plantation barons were near

enough for frequent intercourse between them, and although general visiting was perhaps even more frequent than in the far more crowded districts of other sections, the country ~~was~~ not thickly enough settled to support day schools, and the result was that the sons of the wealthy were taught at home by their parents or by tutors, and the sons of the poor were not taught at all. There was, too, the additional disadvantage of thus scattering money that would have been far more effective educationally if it had been combined in the equipment of a college. Furthermore, the result of this system was that no finished or even advanced culture could be obtained at home, and consequently those who could afford it received their collegiate training in England or on the continent. Herein is another great drawback to educational advancement; for no people can attain a high grade of culture in reliance upon another nation for the culmination of its educational system. This deficiency in educational advantages, due to the dispersion of plantation life, has been a potent cause of the tardiness with which a Southern literature has been developed. A low average of general education not only diminishes the available material from which writers can rise, but it has a most depressing effect as a preventive of a large reading public, and consequent general demand for literary work. We have said that this state of affairs was due to plantation isolation; and it may easily be shown that it was not wholly due to indifference on the part of the people. From the very beginning the Southern colonists were careful to provide for education, and, in Virginia, at least fifteen years before Massachusetts raised five hundred pounds for the founding of Harvard College, three times that amount had been collected and plans matured for the establishment of a college, whose completion was prevented by no fault of the colonists. This and similar instances, however, do not establish the fact that the Southern people were constantly attentive to the cause of education; on the contrary, closer consideration but serves to make it plain that in the South, prior to the war, interest in general

education was at best but spasmodic and unsustained. While it is true that the isolating tendencies of plantation life were effective to prevent combined activity in the cause of education, we must go further than this if we would account for the slowness with which it has been realized that a most important factor in national success is a high average of general education. We must, then, in fairness, admit that there has been a great deal of indifference in the South in this matter of education. Even after interest had sufficiently awakened and the country become thickly enough settled to support schools and small colleges, there arose a most disastrous and short-sighted opposition to the establishment of common or public schools. However strange it may seem, it was not long ago common to find Southern college-bred men, and even professors, bitterly opposed to the establishment of public schools; and Southern magazines contain frequent arguments against the movement for popular education. The cry of "paternalism" was raised, and a vigorous effort made to create a general sentiment of opposition to the "free schools," "pauper teaching," and "charity instruction." It is undoubtedly true that a great part of this opposition came from the already established private schools and their friends; but it is one of the tragedies of Southern history that so great a body of people were led into general opposition to a movement that opened the one way to a sound political and literary progress.

Another factor whose influence was potent in the South was the institution of slavery. Without going into the discussion of a problem that has already filled many a book, it seems relevant to our subject to indicate some of the effects of slavery upon the literature of the South. Let us premise the statement, however, with emphatic dissent from so astounding a proposition as that laid down by a recent writer on Southern conditions, who, referring to the attempt of certain *ante-bellum* writers and editors to promote the realization of a distinct literature in the South, calls it an attempt "to create a soul under the ribs of death," a Southern literature under the shadow of slavery." We have re-

ferred to this statement as astounding, for it seems nothing less, since it means that its author has deliberately dismissed from his mind two of the greatest literatures the world has known—namely, those of Greece and Rome, for Sophocles and Virgil accomplished what the gentleman would have us consider the miracle of literary excellence in the presence of slavery. It is undoubtedly true, however, that in many ways the influence of slavery upon Southern literature was for bad, though not so damning as such over-zealous critics would have us believe. In the first place, it tended to increase the general avoidance of work, and so helped to strengthen the tendency which we have already noted as one of the misfortunes of the early Southern settlers, their seeking ease of life. With the removal of many or most of the ordinary cares of a wholesomely laboring community came the shirking of other forms of toil; and it is perhaps not too much to say that a secondary effect of slavery was, in part, the unwillingness of most Southern men of culture to undergo the toilsome drudgery of painstaking and self-criticising composition.

Another bad effect of slavery upon Southern writers was that it became, at the time when a considerable artistic literary activity would not have been surprising, the one absorbing theme of interest; and because of the attack made upon it, it demanded and secured the service of practically every literary man in the South. Thus the time that might have been given to more purely literary activity was given up to almost purely argumentative defence of a far-reaching institution; and the total value of this great mass of writing is certainly not very great.

A third effect of slavery was good; for the paternalism of the system gave a strong stimulus to kindness and benevolence, and the general disposition to helpfulness, not only towards dependents and inferiors, but also, as seen in the chivalry and hospitality for which the South was famed, towards equals. No better proof of the fortunate effect of this tendency could be found, perhaps, than the fact that a great part of what is best in the

permanent literature of the section is dependent for its charm upon one or other of these phases of Southern kindness.

Another important condition or influence in the South is that of climate; for while a Southern climate, or even an enervating Southern climate, is not incompatible with the growth of a great literature, its effect is surely deterrent. Not only is this seen in the comparative inertia of Southern peoples, but it is also, and more strikingly, apparent in particular cases where, for example, lassitude or exhaustion of energy results directly from excessive heat. It is, of course, a familiar fact that many of the world's greatest literatures have been written in Southern countries. Our point here is not that a hot climate is less favorable than a cold climate for the growth of a literature, for we should scarcely expect from Scandinavia the literary masterpieces of Greece; but it does seem indisputable that, compared with the relatively moderate climate of our Northern States, the depressing heat of the average Southern State should be less favorable for literary work. We shall not enter into this physiological question further than to mention a striking case in illustration—namely, the announcement of the editor of one of the largest reviews in the South, that the excessive heat had made it impossible to get the magazine printed, though its printing establishment was in one of the largest cities of the South.*

Our discussions of Southern conditions has seemed, no doubt, a summary of only the forces that militated against the growth of a considerable literature; and, indeed, it must be admitted that there has been an unfortunate predominance of such influences. But there is another side, though a less conspicuous one, for there were some strong influences for good in the constitution and environment of the Southern people. First of all should be noted the liberty, which was so strong an element in the life of the early settlers, and of the upper classes in the later years before the war. Here we have a marked contrast to the condition of the early New England settlers, whose life was one

*J. D. B. DeBow's Review, of New Orleans.

composite of restriction after restriction. There can be no doubt that the restraint in the Northern section has often been followed by a narrowness of view and limitation of scope that would not have been found in a later Southern literature had not the early advantage in this respect been more than counterbalanced by other disadvantages.

A second propitious phase of Southern conditions was the romanticism of the almost feudal constitution of a great part of the population; a condition which has made the plantation life the groundwork of some of the most artistic conceptions in the range of later fiction and poetry. This is an influence that is more powerful, in retrospect, however, than when it was opposed, and more than neutralized, by the isolating tendency of plantation life.

To come to a more definite consideration of the actual state of literary journalism in the South before the war between the States, we shall briefly review the history of such publications during that time. For that purpose we shall divide our study into periods, as follows: I, the Beginnings of periodical literature, from the earliest publications through 1800; II, the period of the *Southern Review*, from 1800 through 1833; III, the period of Awakening, from 1833 through 1850; and IV, the *Ante-bellum* period, from 1850 through 1860.

During the first period there can scarcely be said to have been any considerable body of periodical literature in the South; and, indeed, from the period of Franklin's magazine, in 1741, and its successors, until about 1776, periodical literature can scarcely be said to have existed south of Philadelphia. By the close of the latter year, however, there were at least two Southern magazines that deserve notice, the *Carolina Gazette* and the *Virginia Gazette*. In 1799, Richmond, Va., was supporting, or failing to support, its *National Magazine*; and, in 1800, Charleston was making the beginning of its long succession of magazines, with the *Quiver* and the *Southern Patriot*. These publica-

tions scarcely deserve much attention, and, indeed, they were valuable chiefly as beginnings.

For the first years of the next period, 1800-1833 inclusive, magazine publication was practically at a standstill; but in 1807, *The American Gleanor and Virginia Magazine*, of Richmond, Va., was striving for a circulation as long as its cumbersome title. In 1811 *Nile's Register* made its appearance, and began its long life in Baltimore. In 1820-'21, Lexington, Ky., boasted of a full-fledged, but ungainly, *Western Review*. In 1828 Charleston had two new names on its list of magazines, the first *Southern Literary Gazette* (not to be confounded with the later publication of the same name, edited by Hayne, Richards and Simms) and *The Tablet*. In 1828 began, at Charleston, the magazine whose fame and merit have led us to give its name to this period, the *Southern Review*, a quarterly edited by the Elliotts and Hugh Swinton Legare. In 1833, Carolina was the home of the *Cosmopolitan*.

If the name of Cæsar's nephew had not been bandied about until it has become ridiculous from being applied to all sorts of ages and periods, we might well have called this period, from 1833 to 1850, the Augustan age of Southern literary journalism. Or, as we called the preceding period that of the *Southern Review*, so this might be called the period of the *Messenger* and the *Quarterly*, two of the greatest of the Southern magazines. The first, the *Southern Literary Messenger*, began in Richmond, Va., in 1834, and the *Southern Quarterly Review* was issued in 1844, first in New Orleans, and then in Charleston. In addition to these, there were the *Southern Literary Journal* of Charleston, about 1835; in 1837 *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, of Washington; *The Southern*, of Charleston, in 1839; about this time, or 1840, *The Southern Rose*, of Charleston; in 1841, *The Magnolia*, or *Southern Appalachian*, of Savannah, Ga.; in 1842, *The Augusta Mirror* (of Augusta, Ga.), a *Petersburg, Va., Quarterly Review* (edited by Edmund Ruffin), and *Sear's New Monthly Magazine*; in 1843, *The*

Chicora (of Charleston) ; in 1844, or thereabout, the *Orion*, first in Penfield, Ga., and afterwards in Charleston, S. C. ; in 1845, Simms' *Southern and Western Magazine and Review*, with its monstrous name, in Charleston ; in 1846, *Heriot's Monthly Magazine*, also in Charleston ; in the same year, 1846, *DeBow's Commercial Review*, in New Orleans, and about this time the *Floral Wreath and Ladies' Book*, in Charleston ; in 1846 also, Thorpe published his *Rio Grande* ; in 1848, the *Literary Weekly Gazette* was published at Athens, Ga. ; in 1848 also, the *Virginia Historical Register* (Maxwell's), in Richmond ; and in 1849, the *Schoolfellow's Magazine*, first at Athens, and then at Charleston. The great number of publications begun in this period, and the fact that among them were at least three (the *Quarterly*, the *Messenger*, and *DeBow's*) of the best the South has produced, make this the great period of its magazine history. These three magazines and others of this time were great factors in the moulding of the destinies and the issues that culminated in the war of the States, and during this period the best writers the South has produced were contributors to one or more of these magazines. To call to mind some of the most important contributors of this period gives us a list that exemplifies our statement of the class of men who wrote for these publications : such men, for example, as Edgar Allan Poe, M. F. Maury, B. B. Minor, Edwin Heriot, William Gilmore Simms, John R. Thompson, Paul Hamilton Hayne, Henry Timrod, P. P. Cooke, J. D. B. DeBow, J. C. McCabe, George Frederick Holmes, Thomas Dunn English, Beverley Tucker, John Tyler, Henry Tuckerman, John P. Kennedy, W. J. Grayson, Charles Gayarre, Governor Hammond, and Dr. Cartwright.

The last period might also be called the period of *Russell's Magazine*, which towers over all that were begun between 1850 and 1860, and is, indeed, inferior to no Southern magazine in the quality of its literary articles. *Russell's New Magazine* was begun in 1856. In addition to these were, in 1851, *The Magnolia Magazine* (Baton Rouge, La.), *The American Union*

(Jackson, Miss.), and *The Southern Parlor Magazine* (Mobile, Ala.) ; in 1852, *The Southern Ladies' Book* (New Orleans), the second *Southern Literary Gazette* (Charleston, S. C.), and *The Southern Magazine* (Mobile, Ala.) ; in 1853, *The Miscellany and Review* (Memphis, Tenn.), and the *United States Review* (Washington, D. C.) ; in 1854, *The Self-Instructor* (Charleston, S. C.) ; in 1856, *The Home Journal* ; in 1857, *The Southern Citizen* (Knoxville, Tenn.) ; in 1859, *The Southern Aurora* (Baton Rouge, La.), and *The Medical and Literary Weekly* (Atlanta, Ga.) ; and in 1860, *The Youth's Monthly Magazine* (Nashville, Tenn.), *The Southerner* (Hopkinsville, Ky.), *Field and Fireside* (Georgia), and a *Nashville Quarterly Review*.

Even so imperfect a list as this necessarily is, is sufficient to show that periodical writing must have played a large part in *ante-bellum* literary activity, if, indeed, it was not the chief direction that activity took. It may seem strange, then, that no higher artistic literary plane was reached, and no better standard established ; but the deficiencies of temperament and training were too considerable to be overcome without a longer apprenticeship to literary craftsmanship and purposeful living ; and so long as composition was no more than recreation and trifling to one class, and merely the vehicle of technical or political expression to another, just so long was it inevitable that the products of such authorship should show almost fatal defects. While, then, it is true that the war withered and killed what had become an extensive periodical literature, and though the recovery has been long, arduous and incomplete, it may yet be that the *aufklarung* will be a blessing to Southern, and therefore to American literature. For however hard has been the discipline, and however bitter the chagrin, each year is giving more evidence of freedom from the old handicapping amateurishness and dogmatism and grandiloquence ; and newer and fresher ideas are current in the South ; better educational systems are being established ; and, with the old past buried to political memory, but alive to romance and history, a new and a better literature, periodical and

permanent, is building among a people that, by every right of heritage, and every present promise, may look, without shame for the past, to a more glorious future.

DEBOW'S COMMERCIAL REVIEW.

Among the men who made Charleston, S. C., a centre of culture and literary work in the South before the war, was J. D. B. DeBow; for, though a great part of his life was spent in New Orleans, he was born in Charleston, and was closely in touch with the men who constituted the Charleston group before 1850.

The history of the magazine which bore his name is so closely connected with the life of DeBow as to be almost a biography of the man who directed it from its beginning almost to its end. The personality which was thus so effective in the history of the magazine should be clearly before us if we would properly understand the purpose, method and results of his work, and consequently we preface our direct study of the magazine itself with a brief summary of the events in the life of the editor before he founded the magazine, in 1846.*

James Dunwoody Brownson DeBow was born at Charleston, S. C., on July 10, 1820. His father, Garret DeBow, moved to South Carolina from New Jersey, and died in poverty after an unsuccessful career as a merchant in Charleston. On his mother's side, DeBow was descended from the Nortons, who were among the earliest settlers of the State; and as two of his father's family, John and James DeBow, fought with the colonists in the war of independence, DeBow was certainly of the truest aristocracy a country can have—its founders and defenders.

Left an orphan and in poverty at an early age, DeBow was thrown upon his own resources, and worked seven years in a

* *Gayarre, Revived Series, Vol. III, pp. 497-8.*

mercantile house, where, in spite of trying conditions, he managed to save enough money to send himself, first to "Cokesbury Institute, in Abbeville District,"* and later to Charleston College. Before his course at the latter was completed, however, his money gave out; but, by dint of strenuous efforts, he managed to support himself while continuing his studies, and graduated with first honors.

We have a glimpse of the manner of man he was at this time, in the words of a class-mate, who says:† "DeBow went through the course in three years, and took first honor. We called him 'old DeBow'—he was so earnest and untiring in his pursuit of knowledge. After studying most of the night, he came to college in the morning with that famous black cravat of his tied loosely around his neck, his hair dishevelled—his keen black eyes sparkling above that nose—ready for any discussion or intellectual tilt." Incomplete as the account is, it gives us an insight into something of the man's peculiarity of mind, manner and appearance—the distinctions of the individual.

DeBow graduated from Charleston College in 1843, at once began the study of law, and in one year was admitted to the bar. He soon discovered his unfitness for this profession, however, and began to devote himself to literary work as a frequent contributor to the *Southern Quarterly Review*, of which he became associate editor in 1844. Believing that there "was not sufficient vitality in the Southern Quarterly to carry it through a long series of years," he gave up the editorship in 1845 and moved to New Orleans, there to found a commercial review, which he had first thought of conducting in Charleston.

The first number of the Review was that for January, 1846. This number, with those of the five months following, make up the first volume. The plan of issuing six numbers to the vol-

* Barnwell, R. 8, Vol. II, p. 10.

† DeBow, Vol. XXVII p. 573.

ume, and so two volumes a year, was generally carried out during the following years. The title of the first volume is:

THE
COMMERCIAL REVIEW
of the
SOUTH and WEST.

A Monthly Magazine of Trade, Commerce,
Commercial Polity, Agriculture, Manufactures,
Internal Improvements, and General
Literature.

“Commerce is King”—Carlyle.

J. D. B. DeBow,
Editor and Proprietor.
Vol. I.

• New Orleans:
22 Exchange Place.

—
1846.

In this first volume we have the editor's own statement and explanation of his purposes and plans for the Review: “We entitle our work the *Commercial Review*, not that the appellation entirely satisfies us, or that it comes up to an adequate expression of its nature and objects; but that, in the defects of our language, we could not, without a circumlocution, find another phrase which would answer as well. Had we said *Practical Review*, there would have been, to say the least of it, some inelegance and no little ambiguity. We establish, to be sure, a commercial work, as much so as Hunt's is one——but it is commercial only in the widest and most liberal construction of the term.——In the ordinary sense of the word, we are more than commercial.——For us it shall be to adhere to the West, the South, and the Southwest; to take the highest views in their great, ever-arising, ever-augmenting interests, to advocate their

true and best policy, to defend their rights and develop their resources, to collect, combine and digest in a permanent form, for reference, their important statistics."

The editor further points out that his magazine is unique in the South, and that there is, of its kind, "but one in the North." Owing to this fact, and to the importance of the periodical as a means of developing the resources of the country, the editor is sanguine of its final success, and asks general support from advertisers and subscribers.

The first volume contained five hundred and forty-four pages, and as its title would indicate, it was prevailingly commercial in tone; but while the editor emphasizes the fields of manufacturing and agricultural interests, he is careful to state that literary work, while "the least pretending," is none the less to be a "not unimportant work." This literary department of the Review is, in the first volumes, very much subordinated to purely mercantile and statistical subjects; but it increases in importance almost uniformly, until finally the publication attains a literary character that would be hardly expected in a periodical of its name.

Among the principal contributors to Volume I were: R. W. Alston, J. P. Benjamin, Geo. Eustis, S. F. Glenn, Milton A. Haynes, Dr. McCaulay, and B. F. Porter; but the list of contributors to the first volume is not long, and the editor himself composed more of its pages than it was necessary for him to write later on, when the position of the magazine was more assured and its contributors more numerous.

Volume II, which completed the issue for 1846, is considerably smaller than the first volume, and contains only four hundred and forty-four pages. This early period of the Review's history was marked by extraordinary efforts on the part of its indefatigable editor. DeBow had left Charleston to begin his new venture "with a diminutive capital and a very slender baggage," and the privations he was forced to undergo during the years in which the magazine was becoming established were

almost incredible. Writing after DeBow's death, Chas. Gayarre,* his intimate friend, tells the pitiful story of the editor's sufferings from poverty while he was giving his all to the establishment of his Review: "So limited at first was the patronage granted to the useful work," writes Gayarre, "that Mr. DeBow very soon sunk his small means, and its publication was suspended." Fortunately, however, the enterprise was not permanently abandoned. Its recommencement was due to the liberality of Maunsel White, a wealthy and successful merchant of New Orleans, who generously advanced to Mr. DeBow the money necessary for the establishment of the magazine on a secure basis. Again the Review was issued by its industrious and self-denying founder, whose manner of living Gayarre thus describes: "Many a night he and a friend, who assisted him, toiled until nearly dawn in a small office in Exchange Alley, No. 22. At that time they both slept in a room which had been given them by J. C. Morgan, the well-known bookseller of the epoch." It seems not impossible that Chas. Gayarre was himself the "friend who assisted him," for it is scarcely possible that another could know such details as he mentions. He tells us that in this poor room their "only furniture was a mattress," and that their economy was such that they "literally lived on bread alone, with a little butter." The addition of the last phase of the bill of fare, while it detracts from the startling effect of the statement, is an ample commentary upon the faithfulness of the report. This sad state of affairs for two men of high purpose and culture is a repetition of the old tragedy of the garret-room writer, and is made even more realistically plain when Gayarre tells us that their "daily outlay for the two was twenty cents."

It is not wonderful that men who were willing to undergo such hardships in the accomplishment of their designs should finally succeed by such strenuous efforts in raising themselves and their magazine out of the poverty that had threatened to de-

* DeBow, R. S., Vol. III, p. 497.

feat them. Soon the Review began to extend its circulation and influence, and this growth was hastened by the work of travelling agents, whom DeBow sent out to work for the periodical. Of these agents, the most efficient were Foster, "a down' Easter," and Price, "a Louisiana backwoodsman." Soon DeBow was enabled to recoup Maunsel White for the outlay he had made when the publication of the Review was suspended; and from this time on the path of the editor, while not strewn with roses, was at least free from the thorns that had at first threatened its existence.

On the title page of Volume II it is stated that in New Orleans the agent of the Review was J. C. Morgan, a bookseller of the place, and that in Charleston, B. F. DeBow represented his brother's publication. The printer of the Review at that time was Joseph Cohn, 31 Poydras Street, New Orleans.

The principal contributors to Volume II were: R. Abbey, A. W. Ely, Robt. Greenhow, William L. Hodge, F. X. Martin, T. H. McCaleb, B. F. Porter, J. L. Riddell, W. S. Upton, and Maunsel White.

The third volume (January to July, except June) contained five hundred and ninety pages, and was thus the largest volume published up to that time. The commercial character of the publication is still predominant, and there is little of real literary work in the magazine. The principal contributors were: R. Abbey, H. Bry, J. S. Duke, Dr. Josiah C. Nott, and B. F. Porter. In this volume there was no June number, the issue for July was number six, and the next volume, four, began with September, 1847. This interruption of the publication of the magazine marks the struggle which we have mentioned above, and which finally resulted in the establishment of the Review upon a more secure basis.

Volume four contained only four numbers, beginning with September and ending with December, 1847. The last number was delayed by the establishment, in its own office, of a printing house for the Review. The printing of the Review continued

to be at 22 Exchange Place, New Orleans, and the city agent was J. C. Morgan. In Charleston, B. F. DeBow, of the business department of his brother's magazine, was succeeded as agent by George Oats; and the names of agents in Cincinnati and New York are given. The Review is "stereotyped by C. Davidson & Co., 33 Gold Street, New York."

The volume contained five hundred and sixty-eight pages, and the chief contributors were: H. Bry, W. B. Cooper, Horace Greeley, P. W. Gauthier, G. P. Kettell, B. B. Minor, A. B. Meek, —— McCrum, Dr. Nott, G. P. Putnam, B. F. Porter, Geo. Taylor, A. Whitney and R. A. Wilkinson.

Volume five (January-June, inclusive), 1848, contains but five numbers, for the issues of May and June were combined to form one double number. In this year, DeBow was appointed "Professor of Political Economy, Commerce and Statistics," in the University of Louisiana, New Orleans. Gayarre tells us that this was but "a barren honor," for there were no pupils, and little interest in the subjects could be aroused. About this time, too, DeBow was put in charge of the State Bureau of Statistics, and he was also one of the founders of the Louisiana Historical Society. B. F. DeBow, James DeBow's younger brother, published Volume five in New Orleans, whither he had come from Charleston. The volume contained five hundred and forty-four pages, and the principal contributors were: R. Abbey, Thos. Afflek, Valcour Aime, J. P. Benjamin, H. Bry, D. P. Benjamin, J. R. Cormick, J. S. Duke, J. C. Dalavigne, Wm. Darby, C. S. Farrar, E. R. Fairbanks, J. P. Kettell, M. F. Maury, J. W. Monette, J. T. Nesbit, J. M. Miles, Chas. Potter, A. C. Van Epps, and S. Weller.

Volume six (July to December, inclusive), 1848, contained only five numbers, for the issue of October and November were combined to form one double number. An evidence of the increased circulation of the Review is seen in the citation of agents in New York, Mobile, Boston, St. Louis, and London, in addition to other agencies established before. An innovation in this

volume is the establishment of a literary department more definitely, under the name of the "Editor's Arm Chair."

A glance at one of the articles under this heading will give us some notion of our editor when he is not cumbered with his commerce and figures. "Reader," he begins, "it will not repent the gravest of us, as Horace declares, sometimes to have sported, *nec lusisse*, etc., or to have thrown away for the nonce, as we do now, tabular statements of crops, commodities and commerce, to enter the field of lighter effort." After this apology for the desertion of his dull and dry statistics, he writes of "The Light of Other Days," and "of the faces that come peeping out from behind the curtain of the past—the bright eyes and laughing faces that seem to beckon us so witchingly, 'come away, come away, you are with us no more, and we hear not your gay echoes mingle with ours—you have the care-worn brow, and your tread is not so light, and the fires burn not so in your eyes now, and the heart leaps not from its confines with such tumultuous swell, and the spirit is tamed—earthward and earthbent.'" All of which shows us that, with all his natural gifts as "a born statistician," our mercantile and matter-of-fact man of figures had his moments of sighing for the sunny slopes of Parnassus. A closer examination of this article gives us, too, some insight into what had been the book journeys of the writer; for he quotes, even in so short an article, from a variety of masters: Homer and Demosthenes, in Greek; Cicero (*Pro Archias*), in Latin; and, in English, Shakespeare, Pope's translations, Goldsmith, Rogers, Moore, and others. Perhaps in something of the same mood, and from the same cause which moved the science-warped Darwin, he laments that "the poetry of science is all gone for him." And, indeed, there is enough of freshness of thought and crispness of style to lead us to think that had DeBow left his facts and figures on their dusty shelves, he might have made for himself a greater name in the realm of pure literature; and yet there is something in his prose style, that same stilted unnaturalness and cumbersome sentence structure that has done much to mar

so many of the best productions of Southern letters. But this fault is not always present, and perhaps it might have been overcome if DeBow had given more care to form. One of the most striking characteristics of DeBow's style is his felicity and freedom of quotation. Not rarely the quotation is just inaccurate enough to convince us of its spontaneity without losing the correctness of the reproduced thought. Such an example we find, for instance, in the quotation from Demosthenes.

In this volume, the sixth, the editor states that, after being published nearly two years, the success of the magazine has been signal; that its subscription list is rapidly increasing, and that it has a "larger circulation than any other Southern work, and the strongest influence." The Review, he says, "has been highly commended by Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, John Quincy Adams, and others," and he promises that great improvements are to be begun in Volume seven; such as, "Mercantile Biographies," or lives of prominent merchants; steel engravings ("a feature first introduced by us in this country"), wood cuts and maps; and the work is to be enlarged so as to contain one hundred and twelve to one hundred and twenty-eight pages in close type, monthly, and to be issued regularly on the first of every month. An apology is made for the delay in issuing some of the numbers on the ground that the excessive heat had "interfered with the manual work of printing."

Volume six contained four hundred and fifty-eight pages, and the principal contributors were: M. F. Maury, Dr. Evans, J. B. Gribble, Edwin Heriot, S. F. Miller, P. A. Morse, R. S. McCulloch, J. Noyes, R. A. Wilkinson, and W. F. Wilkins.

With the last number of Volume six, that for December, 1848, the publication of the Review was suspended, owing to financial "difficulties," and the next volume, seven, begins with July, 1849. On page 101 of that volume we find the following editorial: "With the expiration of three years, and after a temporary suspension, we have recommenced the Review upon a far better basis than ever, with an increased subscription list, with

good publishers, and the removal of prominent difficulties. We never knew the number of our friends. One sends \$60 in new subscriptions, another \$50 annually."

This volume (seven) is called volume one of a "New Series," but as this commencement of a new series is a frequent occurrence in the history of the magazine, at least seven being noted, we shall refer to the volume by their whole series numbers, except those which constitute the "revived," or "after-the-war series."

The extensive improvements promised in Volume six do not appear in Volume seven, except that one map is inserted, and the volume extended to five hundred and seventy pages. The chief contributors were: Woods Baker, L. C. Beck, F. W. Capers, J. R. Cockrill, C. M. Emerson, G. R. Fairbanks, Ellwood Fisher, Robt. Greenhow, Governor Hammond, Edwin Heriot, R. H. Marr, M. F. Maury, M. H. McGehee, H. B. Price, M. W. Phillips and Solon Robinson.

Volume eight (January to June, inclusive), 1850, contains a renewal of the promise made in Volume six, of enlargement and embellishment. On page 500 (No. 5, May, 1850), the editor states that he is "now sole proprietor, as well as editor." "A literary department" is to be added, and shall include "papers upon every subject of letters, science, criticism, foreign and domestic affairs, poetry, romance, etc." These improvements are to begin with Volume nine. Volume eight is the largest issued up to that time, and contains five hundred and ninety-two pages. The principal contributors are: J. G. Barnard, Alex. Clayton, T. G. Clemson, Gov. Hammond, Chancellor Harper, Heriot, H. B. Price and S. Weller.

In Volume nine, the introduction of a distinctly literary department gives the Review a new character, though most of the "literary" contributions bear too strong an impression of a striving after effect, and what might be called amateurishness. The prose is too over-loaded and consciously oratorical, and the poetry too frequently imitative and defective in form. Among

the poems there are two by Paul Hamilton Hayne that are scarcely open to this criticism; the first, entitled "The Scioto River," is in number three of this volume; and the second, "Evening Thoughts," in number five. There are six other poems in this volume, and altogether, twenty-one articles in the Literary Department.

Among the prose works, DeBow's essay on "The Beautiful" is worthy of note; for in spite of its formal defects, it shows a varied learning and refreshing vigor of thought and style. The writer quotes from Waller, Thompson, and, not very accurately, from the *Medea* of Euripides.

Volume nine (July to December, inclusive), 1850, contained six hundred and seventy-eight pages, and the chief contributors were: W. Adam, Mann Butler, A. W. Ely, Professor Forshey, John Fletcher, Gen. Duff Green, P. H. Hayne, Andre Le Blanc, J. M. Legare, A. Stein, J. A. Turner, S. Weller and Emmanuel Weiss.

Volume ten (January to June, 1851, inclusive) contains an index of the first ten volumes of the magazine, a steel engraving, a short story ("Colonel Teedriver, the Regulator"), a poem by Hayne, a humorous article on "The Disadvantages of Water," a historical sketch of the State of Mississippi, a reply to the Edinburgh Review on the slavery question, and a sketch of John Randolph of Roanoke (by the editor). These are the chief articles of the new literary department of the Review. There is an advance in merit of the prose, but a deficiency of poetry. Volume ten contains six hundred and seventy-eight pages, and the chief contributors were: G. W. R. Bayley, Professor Dew, Chancellor Harper, T. B. Hewson, P. H. Hayne, Dr. Josiah Nott and Ed. Thornton.

Volume eleven (July to December), 1851, contains six hundred and ninety-four pages, and was so much enlarged from the former size of the magazine as to be considered the first volume of a new series. One of the most noteworthy articles in this volume is the "Old Dominion," page 463. The essay, though not

long, is an interesting review of the earliest years of the Virginia Colony, and is based upon Charles Campbell's History and other accounts. The principal contributors were: W. W. Bowie, S. A. Cartwright, Judge Corrigan, J. M. Chilton, W. C. Duncan, Professor Dew, Professor C. J. Forshey, Wm. Gregg, M. B. Hewson, Dr. Kilpatrick, C. E. Lester, M. J. McGehee, D. J. McLeod, George A. Pierce, J. S. Peacock, H. Smith and H. W. Waller.

Volume twelve (January to July), 1852, contains six hundred and ninety-eight pages, a department of editorial notices, and a noteworthy article (copied from the *Southern Literary Messenger*), by Matthew F. Maury. In this volume the editor continues his policy of including purely literary articles, and among these is some moderately good fiction. The biographies of prominent merchants are continued, and steel engravings of their subjects are inserted. The chief contributors were: J. J. Abert, W. M. Burwell, Judge Corrigan, W. C. Duncan, A. W. Ely, D. C. Glenn, W. A. Gliddon, V. H. Ivy, G. P. Kettell, J. A. Lumpkin, M. F. Maury, P. Phillips, W. P. Riddell, A. Stein, W. J. Sasnett, Leonard Wray and S. Weller.

Volume thirteen (July to December), 1852, contains a conspectus of a condensed edition of the first ten volumes of the Review, to be published under the title of "Industrial Resources of the South." Perhaps the most noteworthy article in this volume is that on Southern School Books, page 258. The writer makes a strong plea for Southern authorship of Southern textbooks, and declares the existing custom of using books written in the North and filled with unjust criticisms of Southern institutions, a fruitful source of evil. "We do not remember," says he, "a single text-book of the schools printed or published south of Mason and Dixon's line, unless it be Peter Parley's, at Louisville"—and he loses no opportunity to vent his wrath upon the said Peter Parley.

This volume contains six hundred and thirty-two pages, and the chief contributors were: G. W. Bayley, S. A. Cartwright, A. K. Smedes, "L. S. M.," S. A. Cartwright and Hamilton Smith.

Volume fourteen (January to July), 1853, was called by the editor "Volume One, New Series," but the whole series number was soon resumed. This volume contained three inserted portraits accompanying the "Mercantile Biography" series, and numbers six hundred and thirty-two pages. On page 524 we have the announcement that the editor has been made, "without solicitation," head of the census department at Washington. The appointment was made by President Pierce, and DeBow filled the office for eighteen months—i. e., until December, 1854. While in this responsible position he compiled the octavo volume, "A Statistical View of the United States." No change was made in the Review, except that the editor's office was in Washington, and he edited the magazine from that place. Speaking for the assurance of his subscribers, the editor is careful to state that the magazine will not be neglected because of his added duties, and he says that he "has always had the assistance of able coadjutors," and that the business department "is well organized under experienced and responsible persons." The principal contributors to this volume were: B. T. Archer, W. M. Burwell, J. H. Brown, S. A. Cartwright, Major Chase, A. W. Ely, C. J. Fox, J. W. Grayson, J. Hamilton, J. H. Lathrop, M. F. Maury, L. McKnight, W. B. Price, Ed. Ruffin, W. G. Sykes, J. E. Tuel and J. R. Tyson.

In Volume fifteen (July to December), 1853, the Editorial and Literary departments are diminished in extent, especially in Nos. 1 and 2. One of the most noticeable articles is an examination of Mrs. Stowe's "Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin." The arraignment of Mrs. Stowe on the ground of misrepresentation is very vigorous, and the author makes it clear that in so far as the book is based upon fact at all, extraordinary and highly exceptional occurrences have been represented as of general prevalence. This volume contains six hundred and forty-eight pages, and its chief contributors were: J. B. Auld, Jesse Chickering, J. G. Dudley, A. W. Ely, Colonel Gardner, Dr. Kilpatrick, Pro-

fessor Lieber, M. F. Maury, J. W. Moore, J. G. Moore, D. J. McCleod, J. E. Tuel, J. R. Tyson and —— Van Eyne.

Volume sixteen (January to June), 1854, shows a decided increase in the number of Book Notices, but fewer periodicals are reviewed. Since the beginning of the magazine this literary department has been gradually, though not regularly, increasing, and the way has been prepared for the prominence given to other than commercial articles in the next volume.

Volume sixteen contains six hundred and fifty-four pages. The chief contributors were: R. W. F. Allston, F. C. Barker, J. G. Dudley, J. J. Henderson, D. D. Leech, M. F. Maury, J. I. Moore, L. McKnight, E. Newton, A. Stein, J. T. Trezevant, J. B. Wilkinson, R. J. Walker and Felix Walker.

In Volume seventeen (July to December), 1854, we find the editor's promise to increase the size of the work with the next number, for he has given up his census duties, and will now devote himself to the Review. Number one of this volume is a very short issue. Number of pages in volume seventeen, six hundred and forty-six; chief contributors: W. M. Burwell, R. Dodson, A. W. Ely, E. D. Fenner, Charles Gayarre, A. F. Hopkins, R. G. Morris, John Perkins, J. Rawle, L. Troost, J. S. Thrasher, W. H. Trescott, S. R. Walker and J. H. Zimmerman.

Volume eighteen (January to June), 1855, began a new series, the sixth series so designated; the series beginning with this number, however, is really marked by a decided change in the character of the publication. The Literary and Miscellaneous Department is much extended, and instead of being relegated to a few pages of fine print at the close of the number, the department now has the prominent place at the beginning of the number. Articles of a lighter nature are more frequent; and essays and fiction occupy much more space than was formerly taken from mere facts and figures. One of the most valuable articles of the volume, from a historical and literary standpoint, is a sketch of Southern Periodical Literature before 1855. The size of the volume is now much larger than before, and Volume

eighteen contains seven hundred and ninety-four pages. The chief contributors were: N. R. Davis, A. W. Ely, C. G. Forshey, Wm. Gregg, —— Garrett (of Virginia), C. K. Marshall, D. J. McLeod, A. J. Roane, A. Stein and J. W. Scott.

Volume nineteen (July-December), 1855, continues the improvement made with the preceding volume. Though not so large by sixty-two pages, it contains articles of decided literary merit, of which, perhaps, the most pretentious is a learned article, the first of a series on "Law." One remarkable feature of the volume is a long and ponderous poem of nearly one hundred and fifty couplets, entitled "The Indian and the Slave." With a rare display of prudence, the contribution is anonymous.

Volume nineteen contains seven hundred and thirty-two pages. The principal contributors were: Mann Butler, Dr. Baird, J. Balistier, Dr. B. Dowler, Robert Everest, J. W. Grogram, Chas. Gayarre, Geo. Frederick Holmes, Judge Loring, M. F. Maury, J. W. Morse, S. S. Miller, Dr. J. C. Nott, J. D. Orr, J. L. Peyton, Francis Poe, John Perkins, Professor Shepard, L. Schade, Wm. Gilmore Simms and B. W. Whitner.

Volume twenty (January to June), 1856, contains some of the best work, stylistically considered, which the Review contains. Among the best, certainly, are the article on the Early History of South Carolina, DeBow's "The Black Race in North America," which is a vigorous defence of slavery, and "Characteristics of the Statesman," which is also by DeBow. In the latter article the writer is, for literary excellence, at his best.

〔 The nature of his subject gives him good opportunities to employ the assimilations from what must have been a most comprehensive general reading. He quotes, or refers directly to, a multitude of writers, ancient and modern, especially to Hume's Essays, Butler's Analogy, Kame's Elements of Criticism, Des Cartes, Hobbes, Leckie, Milton, The Iliad and Pope's Translations, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Plato, Plutarch, Cicero, Sallust, the Codes of Justinian, More's Utopia, Montesquieu, Grotius, Coke, Bacon, Hale, Blackstone, Franklin, Cousin, Macaulay and

John Randolph of Roanoke. In style this essay contains some of the best passages in the Review—witness such a sentence as this: “The nations of the civilized world have been marching firmly and steadily toward that perfection in the economy of States which has been set before their eyes in the bold conceptions of those who, Sidney-like, have had the moral hardihood and daring to analyze the constituents of power and work out upon the blackboard of history the great problem of man's mundane destiny.”

The writer finds much to lament in the political and economic conditions of his time. Speaking of the sources of political evils, he maintains that there is “too great avidity for speculation, trade, dollars and cents: too entire disregard of political education; too sudden fulness and maturity of growth at which statesmen arrive; too many hands at the political bellows, not enough at the plough; too radical a deficiency in moral and religious instruction”—nor has the world yet reached that millennial state when the same lament cannot be made.

Volume twenty contains seven hundred and fifty pages, and the chief contributors were: Thomas Affleck, J. G. Brannard, Wm. A. Bradford, Thos. Bland, D. J. Browne, R. G. Barnwell, Thos. Clingman, S. H. Dickson, Professor Dew, Wm. Willott, Geo. Elliott, Geo. Fitzhugh, C. T. M. Garnett, E. L. Gaillard, Edwin Heriot, Geo. Frederick Holmes, Ed. Kenna, R. G. Morris, Francis Poe, A. J. Roane, Robt. Toombs, W. H. Tresscott and D. L. Yulee.

With Volume twenty-one (July to December), 1856, we have again the cry of “New Series,” the seventh! And there seems to be little reason for it this time, unless it be the reduction of the yearly volume from about seven hundred and fifty pages to about six hundred and sixty. For one thing this volume is especially noteworthy—namely, the articles on “Southern Authorship and Text-Books,” by C. K. Marshall, of Mississippi, who was chairman of the Committee on Home Publications of the Southern Commercial Convention of 1855; and the reply to this

article, an able essay by Edwin Heriot, of Charleston, S. C. It is pitiful to read the laments of Heriot for Southern literary deficiencies; for he knew only too well the truth of the condition he describes when he writes: "Is it not a notorious fact, that every Southern author, editor or compiler, who has had the temerity to try the experiment of appealing to that *dernier resort*, Southern patronage, has been compelled to pay the piper for his patriotism, instead of being paid for his industry?" Again, and more specifically, he says: "In the Review and Magazine department, how generously we continue to patronize *Harper* and *Blackwood*, *Godey* and *Graham*, and the quarterlies of the North, while the *Southern Quarterly* is in the very act of breathing its last gasp, and *DeBow's* monthly reduced to appeal for its just dues." But, though Heriot laments the state of affairs which seemed peculiarly aggravating to him, who had trod the editor's rough path, still he does not show that the blame should not in large part rest upon the Southern periodicals themselves, which only too often lacked proper business control and adaptation to popular wants and demands.

Volume twenty-one contains six hundred and sixty-two pages, and its chief writers were: W. M. Burwell, Mann Butler, J. M. Cardoza, J. Donnelly, R. S. Elliott, Geo. Fitzhugh, J. B. Floyd, —— Grayson, R. L. Gibson-Hewitt, A. B. Hofer, R. M. T. Hunter, Edwin Heriot, Geo. Frederick Holmes, J. Hendley, G. P. Kettell, L. N. Keith, J. G. Kohl, J. A. Lyles, A. D. Mann, Francis Poe, A. J. Roane, James Robb, J. W. Scott and John Tyler.

Volume twenty-two (January to June), 1857, retains the form reverted to with the preceding volume. A noteworthy article is the appreciative review of the poems of James Barron Hope. With the issuing of this volume, S. C. Martyn left the business staff of the magazine. The volume contains six hundred and sixty-eight pages, and its chief contributors were: W. C. Barney, P. St. Geo. Cocke, Thos. Clingman, Chas. DeFord, F. Doring, D. T. Dawson, D. D. Deming, Geo. Fitzhugh, Ellwood Fisher, E. D. Fenner, —— Grayson, Geo. Frederick

Holmes, R. M. Johnson, G. D. F. Jamison, G. G. Kohl, D. Lee, and John Tyler.

Volume twenty-three (July to December), 1857, was "published in Washington, D. C., and in New Orleans." It is no longer stated on the title page that DeBow is Professor of Political Economy. In the preceding years DeBow had often been a member of commercial and political conventions, and in 1857 he was president of the Knoxville Convention.

One of the most notable articles of this volume is that entitled "Aristotle and Calthoun," which is a voluminous consideration of the analogies and antitheses between the economics of the two very dissimilar philosophers. The volume contains six hundred and sixty-eight pages. The chief contributors were: W. C. Barney, N. F. Cabell, W. C. Dennis, Geo. Fitzhugh, Ellwood Fisher, —— Grayson, M. Gross, P. A. Morse, E. A. Pollard, John M. Richardson, Edmund Ruffin, Professor Thomassy, H. A. Weil and R. C. Weightman.

Volume twenty-four (January to June), 1858, was published in New Orleans and Washington. In this volume it is announced that the editor of the Review will also publish the "Weekly Press," which "will be devoted to light literature, political information and news"—price, \$2 *per annum*. In Volume twenty-four the customary editorial department is omitted. Perhaps the most noteworthy article in this volume of the Review is "American Literature," on page 173. That part of the essay which relates to Southern Literature is especially valuable. The volume is smaller than usual, for it contains only six hundred and eight pages. The chief contributors are: Governor Allston, W. M. Burwell, J. H. Bell, N. F. Cabell, J. M. Cardoza, S. H. DeBow, Wm. Elliott, Geo. Fitzhugh, G. R. Fairbanks, R. M. T. Hunter, J. D. Mitchell, Francis Poe, A. J. Roane, P. G. Rankin, F. N. Watkins and Wm. Gilmore Simms.

Volume twenty-five (July-December), 1858, was published in New Orleans and in Washington. An editorial furnishes the information that "Professor Geo. Steckrath, who has been for

some time in connection with our Review, is now travelling for it"; that the circulation of the publication has so greatly increased as to exhaust the issue; that it "is the intention of the editor to resume in December next his residence (for some time interrupted) permanently in New Orleans, where the main office of the Review will be again established." This main office had been in Washington during DeBow's residence there as superintendent of the census.

The volume is larger by more than a hundred pages than the preceding volume, and contains seven hundred and thirty-one pages. The "Editorial Miscellany," which was omitted from Volume twenty-four, is much extended in Volume twenty-five. The chief contributors were: W. W. Boyce, John Bachman, N. F. Cabell, J. L. Cochran, D. Christy, Thos. Clingman, S. A. Cartwright, R. S. Coxe, Dr. B. Dowler, E. Deloney, Geo. Fitzhugh, C. F. Fraser, —— Grayson, M. Gross, H. Hughes, R. W. Habersham, D. D. Owen, J. J. Pettigrew, Percy Roberts, Edmund Ruffin, T. P. Shaffner and J. A. Turner.

Volume twenty-six (January to June), 1859, was "published in New Orleans and in Washington," according to the title page, though an editorial states that DeBow "is now in New Orleans, a fixture." The volume contains lengthy discussions of the great questions which were only too apparently about to bring on war between the two sections of the country. DeBow was an ardent secessionist, and sincerely believed the welfare of the South would be best assured by separation from the North. In addition to these articles on political questions, the volume contains several lengthy articles on "Virginia Genealogy." The magazine continues the increased size of the preceding volume. There are in all seven hundred and sixteen pages, and the principal contributors were: W. M. Burwell, S. A. Cartwright, H. M. Dennison, Geo. Fitzhugh, —— Grayson, C. E. Goodrich, M. C. Givens, Edwin Heriot, J. G. Harris, H. J. Jewett, Dr. Kilpatrick, W. W. Mather, Lieutenant Moffit, Percy R. Roberts, Ed. Ruffin, Geo. Steuckrath, Geo. D. Shorridge, C. C. Swallow, J. W. Scott, D. S. Troy and J. A. Turner.

Volume twenty-seven (July-December), 1859, "was published in New Orleans and Washington." The noteworthy articles, other than the omnipresent discussion of State-rights and kindred subjects, are: "The Consolations of Philosophy," written by DeBow while at college, which is erudite and scholarly in spite of marks of immaturity; and "On Popular Sovereignty," an animated exposition of Southern Democratic principles. The book reviews in the volume are more extensive. There are seven hundred and thirty-six pages, contributed chiefly by: A. Battle, A. Clarkson, R. Cutler, J. A. Cartwright, H. M. Dennison, R. Dodson, Geo. Elliott, George Fitzhugh, C. L. Fleischman, —— Grayson, A. F. Hopkins, J. G. Harris, A. M. Lea, E. A. Pollard, John Tyler, Percy Roberts, Ed. Ruffin, Geo. Steuckrath, A. Stein, J. W. Scott, W. H. Trescott, Professor Thomassy and W. W. Wright.

Volume twenty-eight (January to June), 1860, was "published in New Orleans and in Washington"; but the permanent office of the Review was at 68 Camp Street, New Orleans. With this volume the connection of Professor Geo. Steuckrath with the Review ceased. A most noteworthy article in this number is "Old African and His Prayer," a story of considerable skilfulness of execution and high ethical purpose. The volume is one of the largest published, and contains seven hundred and forty-two pages. The chief contributors were: A. Clarkson, C. R. Collier, N. R. Davis, H. M. Dennison, J. R. Everett, Geo. Fitzhugh, Wm. Gregg, —— Clarkson, A. F. Hopkins, J. C. Hope, D. H. London, Wm. Middleton, J. I. Moore, John Tyler, A. J. Roane, Governor Ramsay, A. Stein, J. W. Scott, J. T. Wiswall and W. W. Wright.

Volume twenty-nine (July-December), 1860, is, according to the title page, still "published in New Orleans and Washington," but it is improbable that the Washington publication had other existence than the title-page mention. The notable articles are: "A Life of Wm. G. Simms," by J. S. Moore; and Edwin Heriot's "Southern Wants." The latter article is an

able plea for Southern patronage of Southern periodicals, and is well written by an editor who had suffered from the neglect he deprecated. The volume is the largest published up to this time, and contains eight hundred pages. The list of subscribers is large, and the magazine's influence more extended than at any time during its existence. The editor himself tells us that the Review "is in the very meridian of its success." The chief contributors were: S. A. Cartwright, Charles Cist, Geo. Fitzhugh, Americus Featherman, W. S. Grayson, R. L. Gibson, Wm. Gregg, Edwin Heriot, J. C. Hope, T. M. Hanckel, D. H. London, J. T. Moore, C. G. Memminger, E. K. Olnstead, J. M. Partridge, J. Pratt, John Tyler, A. J. Roane, J. L. Reynolds, Ed. Ruffin, J. W. Scott, E. G. Squier, W. D. Scott, J. A. Turner, J. T. Wiswall and W. W. Wright.

One of the most important features of this volume and of the eight preceding volumes, is the work of three Virginia contributors: George Fitzhugh, Edmund Ruffin, and A. J. Roane. The first of these, especially, seems practically an editor of the magazine, for in Volume twenty-nine, for example, he had at least eleven articles, an average of nearly two considerable articles a month.

In Volume thirty (January-June), 1861, the bulk of the space given to articles of general interest continues to be filled with discussions of the vital questions of the day. There is a serial review, beginning in the May number, and continuing through the June issue, of an interesting essay by Dr. S. A. Cartwright, entitled "The Serpent, the Ape, and the Negro," under which head the subject of serpent worship and other African superstitions is discussed.

Volume thirty-one (July-December), 1861, begins to show very decidedly the hamperings of war times. It contains only five hundred and sixty pages, and a large part of the articles are about the war and kindred affairs. An editorial tells us that the business office of the magazine is now removed to Charleston, and is under the charge of the editor's brother, B. F. DeBow;

that the New Orleans office is also open; that the coming of war has resulted in the loss of many paying advertisements; that it has become necessary to use small type, probably on account of the growing scarcity of paper and printers; that the editor has moved to Richmond, Va., is in government service, and will edit the Review from the Virginia capital. The "government service" here refers to DeBow's appointment by the Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate States as "chief agent for the purchase and sale of cotton on behalf of the Government." Just before the war DeBow was recommended by Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, for the Chinese mission, but "patriotic motives induced him to remain at home."

This volume contains several excellent poems, notably John R. Thompson's "On to Richmond," written just after the first battle of Manassas; Timrod's "Cotton Boll," copied from the Charleston *Mercury*; an ode to "Louisiana"; and "There's Life in the Old Land Yet." The most noteworthy prose article in this volume is that on page 209, entitled "The Puritan and the Cavalier," which is an interesting historical account of these two English elements in the American colonies.

The July and August numbers were combined into one double number. The chief writers were: S. A. Cartwright, Geo. Fitzhugh, A. J. Hill, F. P. Porcher, Judge Beverley Tucker and Professor Thomassy.

Volume thirty-two (January-June), 1862, marks practically the close of the first or "Old Series" of the Review. The editor was busy with his duties as governmental agent in the buying of cotton; and as the stress of war increased, and the Federal operations in the Mississippi began, it became very difficult for DeBow to edit the magazine from Richmond and other distant points, and practically impossible to have the printing done in New Orleans. The volume was completed, however, and one more number, that for August, 1862, was issued. Publication of the Review was then interrupted until after the close of the war, when the "Revived Series" was begun in January, 1866.

Before beginning our account of this later series, let us en-

deavor to form some estimate of what was the condition of the Review when it was interrupted by the war between the States. If we remember the humble beginnings of the magazine, its sometimes vain struggle for bare existence, its editor's long and fruitless pleadings for support by people of his immediate section, we shall be very ready to say that when the war began DeBow had succeeded. Not only was the Review upon a sound financial basis, with a large number of subscribers and a paying list of advertisers, but its success was also evidenced by the greater influence it exercised, and the better quality of the articles it contained. Where the earlier volumes had offered us invoices of the port of New Orleans or tabulations of the cotton crop, were now fervent defences of the assailed institutions and principles of the South; where had once been reprints from the older magazines, were now able original articles from such men as George Frederick Holmes, William M. Burwell, Dr. Cartwright and George Fitzhugh. From every standpoint, then, DeBow's Review bade fair to escape the shoals upon which so many Southern magazines had foundered, financial insolvency and popular neglect; and had not the war cut short its career, it is not impossible that it would have been a potent and successful influence for the nurture of a growing literature.

From the title page of Volume one of the Revived Series (January-June), 1866, we find that the Review is now to be "Devoted to the restoration of the Southern States, and the development of the wealth and resources of the country—a Journal of Literature, Education, Agriculture, Commerce, Internal Improvement, Manufacture, Mining and Statistics, and the problems of the Freedmen." DeBow continues to be the editor and proprietor, according to the title page, and Carlyle is still quoted to the effect that "Commerce is King." The offices of the Review are given as, Nashville, 25 Union street; New Orleans, 7 Old Levee, and 130 Canal street; New York, 40 Broadway. The editor tells us that his purpose is to give his Review "a national character." The editor's office is given as 42 Broadway, New York, and Nashville is named as the headquarters of the magazine.

The volume contains two poems—one, "The South," by Wm. Gilmore Simms; the other, "Charms of Rural Life," poetically a pre-glacial monster of three hundred and fifty couplets!

After the war the editor apparently resigned himself to the inevitable; and, with philosophic seriousness, set about to make the best of a world which had no room for his cherished doctrines of State sovereignty and Southern sufficiency. His editorials, consequently, are full of hopes and plans for the future, and yet he does not deny himself the publication of his "Journal of the War"; fortunately, for it has many elements of historical value. The chief contributors were: W. M. Burwell, R. G. Barnwell, W. W. Boyce, W. A. Van Benthuyzen, W. A. Carey, F. A. Conkling, A. Delmar, J. L. Ewell, Geo. Fitzhugh, C. L. Fleischman, W. J. Grayson, Chas. Gayarre, H. G. Horton, Dr. Josiah Nott, A. Stein and T. R. Warren.

Volume two (Revived Series, July-December), 1866, contains the first of a series of articles by DeBow, called "A Journal of the War"; an account, based upon a dairy of events recorded by him at the time. In addition to the historical value of this Journal, its worth is increased by the quotation of numerous poems written during the war, such as Hayie's "En Revanche," and Mrs. Ellen K. Blunt's "The Southern Cross." Another poem in this volume is Timrod's memorial ode, beginning "Sleep sweetly in your humble graves." The editor promises an enlargement of twenty pages per number. The volume contains six hundred and sixty-eight pages, and the chief writers were: Charles Bohun, R. G. Barnwell, W. A. Cocke, D. Christy, L. Dubois, John W. Daniel, R. Hutchinson, H. J. Morgan, J. D. Noyes, L. D. Stickney, A. Stein, L. Spooner and G. D. Williams.

Volume three of the Revived Series (January-June), 1867, marks the limit of the editorship of its founder, who died on the 27th of February, in that year, while by the bedside of his brother, who was then ill at Elizabeth, N. J.

On the title page of the volume we find: "Heirs of DeBow, proprietors. R. G. Barnwell and Edwin I. Bell, editors." The

ffices of the magazine are still given as Nashville and New York. The April and May numbers are combined, and the June number was issued late. B. F. DeBow, brother of the editor and business manager of the magazine, died on the 25th of March, 1867, less than a month after Jas. DeBow died. On page 332, in the last issue of the "Journal of the War," is a poem of unusual merit by James R. Randall. On page 497, is a life of James DeBow, by his friend, Charles Gayarre, and the frontispiece of the volume is a large picture of the editor, who had made the Review his life-work. This number also contains Father Ryan's well-known poem, "The Conquered Banner." The volume contains 608 pages, and the chief writers were: W. A. Cocke, John W. Daniel, Geo. Fitzhugh, C. L. Fleischman, Geo. Frederick Holmes, Professor Linebaugh, J. A. Maxwell, C. A. Pillsbury, A. Stein, Charles F. Schmidt and John A. Wagener.

Volume four (R. S., July-December), 1867, was edited by R. G. Barnwell and Edwin I. Bell. Unusual space is given to Book Reviews. Two of the most notable features of the volume are the life of DeBow, on page 1, and Father Ryan's poems, "Sentinel Songs." In the latter, the author, lamenting the perishableness of monuments to the fallen soldiers, and rejoicing in the imperishableness of songs to their memory, writes:

" And the Songs in stately rhyme,
With softly sounding tread,
March forth to watch till the end of time,
Beside the silent dead."

The volume is smaller than usual, and contains only six hundred pages. The principal contributors were: R. G. Barnwell, S. B. Buckley, W. W. Boyce, D. Christy, Josiah Copley, C. Deranceo, J. C. Delavigne, Geo. Fitzhugh, Professor Forshey, P. C. Fries, Geo. Fred. Holmes, J. E. Killibrew, N. A. Knox, G. Marigault, C. A. Pillsbury, L. Spooner, John A. Wagener and Sylvester Waterhouse.

Volume five (R. S., January-June), 1868, was edited partly by R. G. Barnwell and partly by William McCleery Burwell, of

Virginia. The latter became editor-in-chief during the publication of this number, and he continued to direct the magazine. Barnwell was associate editor and general agent. J. Wallace Ainger, of New York, was the business manager. During March and April the office of the Review was moved from New York to New Orleans, its old home; and, in consequence of their change, the May number was so delayed that it was published under the same cover with the June number, and both of these issues were smaller than usual.

Wm. McC. Burwell, the new editor, had been for years a frequent contributor to Southern magazines; and, when he took charge of DeBow's Review, he had made a reputation as an authority on political and commercial economy. Thus he was well fitted for the editorship of a commercial magazine, but he lacked Mr. DeBow's enthusiasm for literature, and so we soon find the magazine returning to its first type, as a strictly agricultural and commercial review.*

In conclusion, we shall obtain a clearer notion of what the Review was if, after the foregoing synopsis of the series, we sum up the general features of the work.

It should be borne in mind that the Review stood, first of all, for the defence and development of the commercial and political rights of the South, and that the literary department of its work was subordinate to these interests. In the first volume of the work, the editor defined the purpose of the Review in these words: "For us it shall be to adhere to the West, the South and the Southwest; to take the highest views on their great ever-rising, ever-augmenting interests; to advocate their true and best policy; to defend their rights and develop their resources; to collect, combine and digest in a permanent form, for reference, their important statistics." Let us consider how far these high purposes were realized.

From a commercial standpoint, it is very certain that the work

* It has been impossible to gain access to the later volumes of Mr. Burwell's editorship, which are thus reluctantly omitted from our account of the Review.

of DeBow's Review was not only helpful, but also extensive, in its influence. The laborious collection of statistics had its reward in the increased attention to scientific principles in agriculture and commerce, and as a means whereby progress and improvement should come. The manifold phases of plantation life and duties were frequent subjects for the pens of men who knew Southern conditions and had studied Southern needs. No department of the slave-owners' world was allowed to fail of its share of study and discussion, and such subjects as "An Overseer's Daily Routine" or "Water for Field Hands" were elaborated and argued about with all the earnestness of a Milton damning royalists. This minute investigation extended also to purely commercial inquiries; and so thorough and widespread was the assimilation of the best results from these economic theories that the Southern States before the war were remarkable for general prosperity. "The wealth accumulated by the people was marvellous," says Henry W. Grady; "Georgia and Carolina were the richest States, *per capita*, in the Union, saving Rhode Island." Surely not a little credit for this favorable condition is due to the leading commercial magazine of the section.

Nor were the political purposes of the Review less faithfully adhered to; a fact which is well shown by the change which the magazine itself underwent as the inevitableness of war became more and more apparent. DeBow was an ardent State-rights man, and as his interests and those of his compatriots became more absorbed by the political questions of the time, more space was given in the Review to the discussion of the great impending problems; and there is much evidence that the influence of the magazine in these trying times was very considerable. Two facts, especially, point to this conclusion—first, the prominence of the men who contributed the *ante-bellum* political articles; and second, that the Review was "in the meridian of its success" when it was cut short by the war.

A third department of the Review remains to be considered—namely, its literary contributions. It is to be remembered that the founder's aspirations for his magazine in this department

were relatively not so high as his aims in the other respects already mentioned; and hence we should not look for a considerable magazine literature aside from technical treatises, nor for evidences of important literary influence exerted by the publication. We shall find neither; but there are artistic compositions here and there in its pages, and not rarely our search is rewarded with the discovery of a stirring poem by Hayne, a well-balanced prose essay by Fitzhugh, or a recreative fancy flight of an editor, who, for all his facts and figures, was not altogether a stranger to the shepherd's pipe.

CHAPTER II.

THE SOUTHERN REVIEW.

Charleston, S. C., has been the scene of many beginnings, and, unfortunately, of nearly as many endings. In no department has this been so pronounced as in that of periodical literature. Magazine after magazine has been begun there, frequently with every prospect of success that general interest and editorial ability could warrant, and yet some of them have been unable to stretch their existence beyond a year or two. Even William Gilmore Simms, their literary behemoth, saw his cherished periodical succumb after one scanty year of publication, and what could be expected of others? But before Simms formed his habit of setting journalistic tombstones there had been a conspicuous example of how the best laid plans may fail. In 1828 there appeared in Charleston the first number of the Southern Review. This was the February number for that year, and the magazine was a quarterly, to be issued in February, May, August and November of each year. Not only in Charleston and South Carolina, but all over the South, literary men were deeply interested in this work, and some of the ablest scholars of South Carolina were among its prominent contributors. The founder and first editor of the Southern Review was Stephen Elliott, one of the most learned and talented men of his native State. He was born at Beaufort, S. C., in 1771. Like many another Southern man, he completed his education in the North, which had long been more and more regularly training the class of men who had formerly finished their education in the "old country," or on the continent. He graduated from Yale when twenty

years of age, and, retiring to his South Carolina plantation home, devoted himself to the study of science and literary work. Elliott was a man of unusual progressiveness and energy, and he did much for the cause of education in his native State. He was the founder of the Literary and Philosophical Society, which was organized in 1813; and, after having declined the presidency of the South Carolina College, he founded, in 1825, "The Medical College of South Carolina," in Charleston, and was appointed professor of Natural History and Botany.*

Of the fact that Stephen Elliott, senior (for he had a son of the same name, who was also an editor of the *Southern Review*), was the founder and first editor of the Review, there seems to be no doubt; but there is some doubt as to whether or not he was assisted in both capacities by Hugh Swinton Legare. In his life of Simms, Professor Trent says, page 55: "Elliott and Legare set to work with a will, and launched the 'Southern Review,'" and he refers on page 56 to the "two editors from the city and State at large." Again, on the same page, we find, "One is not surprised, therefore, to read a conspicuous notice in the fifteenth number, requesting subscribers to pay up; or to find Elliott and Legare withdrawing and leaving their bantling to die on the hands of the former's son, Stephen Elliott, Jr." Thus Professor Trent would have it that Elliott and Legare were the founders and first editors, and that their successor was the younger Elliott. Opposed to this account is that found in the first volume, pages 39 sq., of the *Southern Quarterly Review*, which is as follows: "At its commencement [the *Southern Quarterly Review* was], under the editorial control of that profound and elegant scholar and fine writer, the late Stephen Elliott, LL. D. Upon his death the work passed into the hands of his talented son, Stephen Elliott, Jr. Mr. Legare finally took charge of the work, and fully sustained the high reputation it had already attained." This is high authority for the state-

* Authorities: DeBow's *Review*, vol. IX, p. 115; *Southern Quarterly Review*, vol. I, p. 39; Trent, *Life of Simms*, p. 27; *Richmond Times*, April 13th, 1902.

ment, since the *Southern Quarterly* was considered a renewal of the old Quarterly, and was published in the same city, and since its editors were living at the time of the *Southern Review's* publication. Again, we have a similar statement in an editorial of *DeBow's Review*, Vol. XI, p. 125: "The Southern Review was published between 1828 and 1832, and edited *successively* by those scholars of world-wide fame, Stephen Elliott, Stephen Elliott, Jr., and the late Hugh S. Legare." This account agrees with that in the Quarterly, above referred to; and let it be remembered that its author, DeBow, was a native of Charleston, and had also been an editor of the *Southern Quarterly*. Mr. Trent does not give us his authority for his account, and we hesitate to accept his view with such authoritative statements to the contrary. Furthermore, in Mr. Trent's own account, there are misleading implications, aside from the general statement of Legare's connection with the Review. From the order of the statements, we should suppose that the plea, in the fifteenth number, for payment of subscription, closely preceded the withdrawal of Elliott and Legare. Now, the fifteenth number was issued in November, 1831, and Stephen Elliott, Sr., died in 1830. Again, it is a rather pleasant euphemism to report the death of Elliott as his "withdrawing and leaving their bantling" to die on the hands of his son. We are forced to conclude that the biographer of Simms had forgotten that the senior Elliott died in 1830. In the absence of assigned authority for his account, it seems reasonable to suppose that Professor Trent assumed Legare's editorship of the first numbers because of that writer's numerous contributions to the early volumes. It is, of course, very certain that Legare's interest in the publication was very great, and his help both timely and considerable; but there seems little ground for maintaining that he was actually associated with Elliott in the editorial chair.

So much for the first editor. As to the Review itself, several particulars of the form of the magazine are very noticeable. Perhaps the first thing that would strike the attention of one familiar with modern periodicals would be its simplicity or

uniformity of arrangement. No attempt was made to make the Review attractive in appearance or to secure the general attention by a show of variety in its contents. There is no division into departments, and consequently monotony reigns supreme. Opening the number before us, we are met by an array of "Articles," led by Article I, and exhausting the first ten Roman numerals. Exhaustion threatens the reader also, at sight of this formidable company, and when the apparently less important knowledge of the subject of the essays is ascertained, hope flees before the prospect. Such might very reasonably be supposed to have been the effect upon the average reader of periodical literature when a copy of the old Review was brought to his attention, and we have emphasized this aspect of the case in order to make it plain how futile such methods of publishing necessarily were, if the editor sought popular support and a general circulation. It is strange that it could be supposed that in so new and unsettled a country as America was in 1830 a large reading public could be found for a magazine whose *piece de resistance* was sure to be some such dainty morsel as a ponderous dissertation on "Classical Learning," by Legare, or a treatise "On the Public Economy of Athens," by anybody else. Such considerations make it very apparent that the editor of the *Southern Review* was far from catering to public demands, and was rather providing a medium for learned discussion and exposition than attempting to establish a training ground and vehicle for the merely literary men of the section. The founders of the Review had set before them the standard of the great English quarterlies, and, had they fallen behind their models in scholarly dryness and contempt for popular demand, they would have considered their venture a failure. We would not be understood to detract from the merit of the essays themselves, many of which are very valuable and masterly contributions to the literature of their subjects; but we do lament the short-sightedness of men, who, while really keenly interested in promoting the welfare of their native literative, yet sacrificed the last chance of making their publications a power for good by filling the Re-

view with essays so technical or so purely scientific as to appeal only to a limited class of readers and to repel the more numerous remainder. It is true that in the four years of its existence many articles on subjects of general interest were published; but in any one number, such articles were very noticeably a small part of the contents; and the preponderance of technical and scholarly essays was great enough to decide the character of the publication—and to be its doom, for the causes of the Southern Review's early failure and cessation are to be found in itself. To sum up briefly, these causes were—first, failure to adapt the Review to the needs of a new people; and second, contempt for means of securing general attention and favor.

The title page of the first volume of the *Southern Review* was:

THE SOUTHERN REVIEW.

—
Vol. I.
—

FEBRUARY and MAY, 1828.

CHARLESTON:

Printed and published by A. E. Miller,
for the Proprietors.

—
1828.

The first of these numbers, February, contains five hundred and thirty-six pages, ten essays. Of these, the first is "Classical Learning," which is a very long defence of the study of the classics. In it Hugh Swinton Legare, its author,* assails the

* In general the authority for authorship of articles in the Southern Review is scanty. In the case of Legare, however, there is very definite information, obtained from the collection of his works edited by his sister and published in 1846 by Burges and James, Charleston, S. C. Of some few of the remaining articles the authors are given on very good authority; but for most of them we have to rely on internal evidence, or such doubtful authority as the attachment of names by former owners of volumes of the publication.

Where our authority is no more than these last two sources, we can only refer the article to its supposed author.

advocates of the new learning, and gives good evidence of the classical learning, for which he was so famous.

The second article of this first number is a technical and historical essay on the "Principles of Agriculture," whose author is supposed to have been Dr. Cooper.

The third article is entitled the "Execution of Col. Isaac Hayne," and is a strong defence of a Revolutionary hero who was unjustly put to death by the British. The author is supposed to have been Robert Young Hayne, the famous opponent of Daniel Webster.

The fourth article is a treatise, probably by Professor Wallace, on "Geometry and the Calculus"—an article of the kind that subtracts years from the life of any other magazine than a purely mathematical publication.

Article five, "Gaul on the Functions of the Brain," is a criticism of the recent developments of the French physiological psychologists. The author is supposed to have been Dr. Cooper.

The next article is a review of Scott's "Life of Napoleon Bonaparte," which forms the startling point not only of critical remarks, but also of an historical essay upon the "Little Corporal" and his times. The article was probably written by Stephen Elliott, Sr., the editor of the Review.

Article seven is an essay upon "Political Economy," especially the department of "Rent." The supposed author is Cardoza.

Article eight, probably by Judge Harper, discusses the "Colonization Society."

The next article is the "Geology and Mineralogy of North Carolina," probably by Dr. Cooper.

The last article of the number, ten, is a review of *The Talisman*, a New York annual for 1828.

The second number of the first volume contains nine long articles, as follows: "On the Constitution of the United States," supposedly by Stephen Elliott, Sr.; a review of "Niebuhr's Roman History," probably by Robert Henry; "Begin's 'Therapeutics,'" very probably by Dr. Cooper; a fifty-two page essay, by Legare, on "Roman Literature"; "Life of Wyttenbach," a review sup-

posed to have been written by Dr. Josiah Nott; "Poems of James Percival," reviewed most scathingly by Legare, who speaks of them as "such incoherent, undefined and shapeless fantasies as may be supposed to float about at random in the brain of a poetical opium eater"; a review of Butler's "Life of Hugo Grotius," probably by Grimke; "On the Monitorial System of Instruction"; "Craft's Fugitive Writings, With Selections," a vigorous essay by Lagare, who is moved by his late fellow-citizen's verse to ask, "Do nonsense and vulgarity cease to be so because they are aggravated by doggerel?" The review is not wholly destructive, however, for Legare finds not a few things to admire, and says so with a frankness that shows his criticism is not unfair or spiteful.

The second volume contains two numbers, those for August and November, 1828. The first of these, which is number three of the whole series, contains ten articles—"A Review of Washington Irving's 'Columbus,'" which is attributed to Legare, but the authority seems to be of very doubtful validity; the reviewer commends both form and matter of the book, and has little fault to find with either; "Origin of Rhymes," an "examination of the claims of Arabic literature to be accounted the author (sic) of rhyme of the poetry of Christian Europe"—supposedly by Grimke; "Kent's Commentaries," a forty page review by Legare; a review of M. Gamba's "Travels in the South of Russia"; an essay attributed to Dr. S. H. Dickson, on "Malaria"; "Flint's 'Valley of the Mississippi,'" a review whose author is supposed to have been Prioleau; the conclusion of Article VI, Vol. I, on Scott's "Life of Napoleon Bonaparte," supposed to be by Stephen Elliott, Sr.; review of a poem, "The Omnipresence of the Deity," by Robert Montgomery. The last article is a satirical and sharply destructive criticism, which bears many marks of Legare's pronounced style, and was probably written by him, though it is not generally contained in the lists of his works.

The November number contains ten essays: "On the Religion of the American Indians;" "American Naval History," probably by Robert Young Hayne; "Review of Spark's Life of John

Ledyard;" "Views of Nature," an essay wherein the author, probably Stephen Elliott, the editor, opposes the extreme views of evolutionistic cosmogeny; "The Federal Constitution," an interpretation from the standpoint of the State-rights party, supposed to be by Col. McCord; a review, sometimes attributed to Legare, of Pollock's "Course of Time;" "Internal Improvements," probably by the editor, Elliott; "Roman Orators" (a continuation of Article IV, Vol. I, No 2, by Legare), in which the central topic is the relative merits of Cicero and Demosthenes as orators. Legare, while pointing out particulars in which Cicero surpassed, is emphatic for the superiority of the Greek. "The Georgia Controversy," a State-rights discussion, written, it is supposed, by Drayton; the last article of the number, "The Tariff," by "one of our most able statesmen," probably McDuffie.

Volume III contains the numbers for February and May, respectively, and begins the issue for 1829.

The February number contains: "The Law of Tenures," a review of a work by James Humphrey, an Englishman, on real property. This is one of the best known of Legare's contributions to the Review; "Romances of the Baron Motte Fouque," a review supposed to be by Robert Henry, who strangely divides fiction into "Southern, Northern, Oriental and Mixed," and discusses the chief faults of modern romance; "Court of Chancery," a technical law treatise, attributed to Pettigru; "Life of Erasmus," a review probably by Dr. Josiah Nott, of a biography by Charles Butler; a review of "Thomas Brown's Philosophy of the Human Mind," supposed to have been written by the Rev. Dr. Gilman, who finds much to praise, but not enough to keep him from pronouncing the philosopher "not a profound thinker." The article is incorrectly numbered IV, instead of V; "Origin of Rhyme," a thirty-six page continuation of Article 2, Vol. II, No 1, supposedly by Grimke; a sparkling review of the "Travels of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar" in America, supposed to have been written by Legare; a review of "The Celtic Druids," of Godfrey Higgins, probably by Dr. Cooper; and a review, sup-

posed to be by McCord, of Walsh's "Narrative of his Journey from Constantinople to England."

The May number, VI of the whole series, contains ten reviews. First, a review of Sir John Franklin's narrative of his second Polar Expedition; second, "The Cambridge Course of Mathematics," probably by Professor Wallace; third, a review, attributed to Professor Wallace, of "Stuart's Commentary on Hebrews"; fourth, a review of a French work by Blachette, on "Sugar," probably by Stephen Elliott; fifth, "Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister,'" reviewed, it is supposed, by Robert Henry; sixth, "Memoirs of Dr. Parr," attributed to Dr. Nott; seventh, a very much out of place, but witty, essay on "The French Cook"; eighth, "Law and Lawyers," supposed to be by Prioleau; ninth, "Liberty of the Press—Sedition Law of '98"; tenth, a review of—first, "The Disowned"; second, "Tales of the Great St. Bernard." This article is attributed to Hugh S. Legare, and it is typically vigorous, keen and yet fair.

Volume IV completes the year 1829, and contains the usual two numbers, in this case for August and November, 1829. The first of these, No. VII of the whole series, contains nine articles—one, "Celtic Druids"; two, "Hoffman's 'Legal Outlines'"; three, "The Fine Arts"; four, "Education in Germany"; five, "Abbot's Letters from Cuba"; six, "Cicero de 'Republika'"; seven, "Travels in China"; eight, "Dyspepsia"; nine, "Heber's Sermons." Of these, the first is a continuation of article eight, No. V, attributed to Dr. Cooper. Article two is supposed to be by Legare, on general and internal evidence. Number five is probably by the editor, Stephen Elliott, Sr. Number six is a critical annihilation of a venturesome translator, who fell under Legare's lash. The latter, who was famous in this country and abroad as a classicist, convicts the translator of frequent misinterpretation and ignorance, and is not sparing in his denunciation of such presumptuous writing.

Number VIII contains—one, "Sismonde's 'Political Economy'"; two, "On Cuba"; three, "Hall's 'Travels in North America'"; four, "Devereux," a novel, reviewed; five, "In-

fluence of Chivalry on Literature"; six, "Sir Walter Raleigh"; seven, "Classification of Plants"; and eight, a review of "Anne of Geierstein." Of these, article seven is supposed to be by Stephen Elliott, Sr., and must have been the last, or nearly the last, of his contributions to the Review; article three was written by Hugh S. Legare.

Volume V begins the year 1830, and contains two numbers, as usual, for February and May, numbers IX and X, respectively, of the whole series.

Number IX contains—one, a review of Stuart's Hebrew Grammar; two, "Raymond's 'Political Economy'"; three, "Charlemagne and His Peers"; four, "Jefferson's Memoirs"; five, "The Works of Paul Louis Couvier"; six, "The Navy"; seven, "Cooper's 'Wept of Wish-Ton-Wish'"; and eight, "Anatomy of Drunkenness," reviewed. Of these, number one was probably written by Professor Wallace. It is a remarkable article to be found in such a publication; for, with its lengthy tables of Hebrew etymology and inflection, such an article is out of place in any other publication than a grammar or other work on technically treated linguistics. Unfortunately the fault was a common one in the case of the Southern Review, whose example in this respect was only too frequently followed by later magazines. Article six was probably written by Robert Young Hayne, who had already, it is thought, contributed one article on this subject (cf. article 2, Vol. II, No. IV). Article seven is destructive in its criticism of Cooper's marvellously named novel; and is exceptional in that respect, for most of the Southern reviews of Cooper were commendatory, except when he was being dealt with as a rival of Simms as a writer of romances of Indian life.

The first editor of the Review, Stephen Elliott, died in 1830. Following, then, the account of DeBow and the *Southern Quarterly*, it is most probable that Stephen Elliott, Jr., was the editor of the first number of Volume V. We have no certain means, however, of knowing how long this editorship lasted; but it seems probable that the next editor, Legare, began his conduct of the

Review with number X, for his contributions, known and attributed, form an unusual part of that issue. The fact that in the ensuing volumes Legare's articles are not so numerous is not a valid argument against his being editor of the Review then; for this scarcity of contributions from him is accounted for by the increasing demands made upon his time by his duties as a practicing lawyer and as Attorney-General of South Carolina.

Number X contains—one, a review of "Bourrienne's 'Memoirs'"; two, "Sidney's 'Miscellanies'"; three, "Ancient and Modern Oratory"; four, on "Etymology"; five, "Bentham's 'Judicial Evidence'"; six, "Heber's 'Life of Jeremy Taylor'"; and seven, "Lord Byron's Character and Writings." Of these articles, two and seven are known to be Legare's, and articles three and five are supposed to be by him. Article seven is one of the most notable of Legare's essays, and one of the longest, for it contains 59 pages.

Volume VI completes the issue for 1830. Its numbers, XI and XII, were published in August and November.

Number XI contains—one, "Agrarian and Educational Systems"; two, "History of Greek Literature"; three, "Memoirs D'un Pair de France"; four, "Ben Johnson's Works"; five, "Physiologie des Passions"; six, "Debate on Mr. Foote's Resolution"; seven, "Hall's 'Familiar Letters of Milton'"; and eight, "The American System." Of these articles, one voices a Southern failing in its opposition to public schools. Article two is one of Lagare's best classical essays. Number six is a discussion of the Webster-Hayne debate, in which Mr. Webster's oratorical and rhetorical ability is admitted but his logic denied. The "American System" referred to in article eight is that of the tariff, which is strenuously opposed.

Number XII contains—one, "Mental Development"; two, "Geology"; three, "Memoirs of Josephine"; four, "History of Greek Literature"; five, "Social Life of England and France"; six, "Florida"; seven, "Tribunal of Dernier Resort"; and eight, "Griesbach's 'New Testament.'" Of these, article four is a continuation of Legare's essay, begun in article two of the pre-

ceding number. Article five is supposed to have been written by Dr. Cooper.

Volume VII begins the issue for 1831, and contains the numbers for May and August, of the whole series numbers XIII and XIV. The volume shows great irregularity in publication; for the rule had been for the Review to be issued in February, May, August and November; but here there is no February number for 1831, and consequently, May and August make one volume, while the eighth volume contains the issues for November, 1831, and February, 1832.

Of Volume VII, number thirteen contains—one, “Byron’s Letters and Journals”; two “Beranger’s Poems”; three “Life and Times of Daniel DeFoe”; four, “Murat’s Letters on the United States”; five, “History of the Fine Arts”; six, “Steam Engines and Railroads”; seven, “The Siamese Twins”; eight, “Irving’s ‘Voyages and Discoveries of Columbus’”; and nine, “The Family Library.” Of these articles one is a review by Legare of Moore’s work on Byron’s Letters. The essay is a long one of forty-two pages, and is a fair and sympathetic treatment of the unfortunate poet’s woes.

Number XIV (August, 1831), contains—one, “Jeremy Bentham and the Utilitarians”; two, “Operation of Poisons”; three, “French Novels”; four, “Theory of Association in Matters of Taste”; five, “Codification”; six, “Small-pox, Varioloid Diseases and Vaccine”; seven, “American Literature”; eight, “Woolrych’s ‘Life of Jeffreys’”; and nine, “Waterhouse’s ‘Junius.’” Of these articles, one is a descriptive criticism, by Legare, of the Utilitarian philosophy as systematized by Bentham. Article five is by some considered Lagare’s best essay.*

Article seven is based upon “Kettell’s ‘Specimens of American Poetry.’” The reviewer protests against the demand for an American Literature, and declares that the nation is not old enough (in 1834) to have a literature, and that there is not suffi-

* *Southern Review (Baltimore)*, vol. VII (January, 1870), p. 147; and the whole article for life of Legare.

cient material for it. He accounts, in part, for Southern literary sterility by attributing it to "imperfect education" of the people. Article nine is a plausible argument to prove that the author of the letters of "Junius" was the *Rererend* Philip Francis, rather than *Sir* Philip Francis.

Volume VIII (November, 1831, and February, 1832), concludes the issue of the Southern Review. In addition to the causes of failure inherent in the nature of the Review itself, a more immediate cause of its cessation in 1832 was the departure, in that year, of Legare, who went to Europe as the representative of the United States at the Court of Brussels. Legare's ability and fame, both as a man and as an author; had been from the first the mainstay of the magazine. As stated before, Stephen Elliott, the first editor, had died in 1830, and when, in 1832, the remaining editor withdrew, the Review suspended publication.

Number XV contains—one, "The Bank of the United States"; two, a review of "Cyril Thornton"; three, "Cuvier's 'Theory of the Globe'"; four, "Delavigne's Poems"; five, "On Canal Navigation"; six, a review of "A Year in Spain"; seven, "Distribution of Wealth"; eight, "Peninsular Campaigns"; and nine, "Indirect Taxation."

The last number of the Review, February, 1832, contains—one, "Public Economy of Athens"; two, a review of the works of Edmund D. Griffin, gruesomely entitled "Griffin's Remains"; three, "Life of Mary, Queen of Scots"; four, a review of Cooper's "Bravo"; five, "Butler's 'Life of D'Arguisseau'"; six, "Bryant's Poems"; eight, "McIntosh's 'History of England'"; and nine, "Producers and Consumers." Article one is by Lagare, as is article five also. Article seven is a very appreciative review of Bryant's poems, which the reviewer declares to be "the best collection of American poetry we have seen."

THE SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

The title page of the first volume of the Southern Quarterly Review is as follows:

THE SOUTHERN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Volume I.

NEW ORLEANS:

Published by the Proprietors at 166 Royal Street.

1842.

The printer was Benjamin Jenkins, 166 Royal Street, New Orleans; the first editor, Daniel K. Whitaker. Volume I consists of two numbers, for January and April (1842), which contain 302 and 262 pages, respectively. There is a separate table of contents for each number. The body of each number consists of essays of about 60 pages each, based upon some work treating of the subject of the essay; the articles, however, are not merely critical, but more frequently original essays. In addition to these major articles, there are shorter "Book reviews," "Reviews of Magazines," "Literary Announcements," and notices of new publications.

Number I contains eight principal articles: I, the Newspaper and Periodical Press. This is a sixty page editorial, in which we have, first, a sketch of the "Newspaper Press"; second, a history of the "Periodical Press"; and last, an outline of the purposes and policy of the *Southern Quarterly* itself. Under the last heading the editor says: "To protect the rights of our Southern soil from invasion, and to promote the cause of learning, arts and literature among us, we have projected this Southern

Quarterly Review. As a political organ, it will maintain, in good faith, long received and well-tried principle of the old Republican school, such as the following: That all men, though ~~not~~ equal by birth, talent or circumstances, are yet to be equally protected in the enjoyment of their just rights; that the people of the several States of the Union are the source of all the political power that exists in it; that the Constitution of the United States is the result of a compact between the several States, each State agreeing with each, and each with all the rest, to confer upon the Federal Government certain powers, and reserving to themselves all the powers not granted out by and through that instrument; that all its provisions and grants of power should be construed strictly, according to the plain import of the language employed, and without looking for any hidden or more extended meaning than the latter justifies; that the same Constitution, being the result of a compact by and between the several States, could not have been created by the people *en masse*, as, in that event, there being only one party, there could have been no Federal compact, no Federal Government, no American Confederacy; that the allegiance of the citizen is due, primarily, to the States, and secondarily, to the United States; that, for all palpable violations of the Constitution by the Federal Government, or by any of its branches, not provided for by the Constitution, a remedial power exists in the States to cure the evil; that the principles of free trade ought to be maintained and respected, and that no one branch of American industry should be fostered or protected by the Government at the expense of any other branch of it; that tariffs or imports should be levied for purposes of revenue directly, and for purposes of protection only indirectly and incidentally." Herein we have a complete statement, within limits, of not only the political views of the Quarterly's editors, but also of the position of Southern statesmen, on the great questions which were becoming every year of more acute importance.

So much for the political position of the Quarterly. Proceeding, the editor asks: "But what party will this work sustain

in religion?" "No party," he answers, and gives three reasons: "First, for the solemn and most conclusive reason, that in Christianity, professedly and really a religion of peace and love, there ought to be no party—no conflicts among the followers of the Lamb of God and the Prince of Peace, but only harmony and agreement and brotherly love; secondly, because there are other and better instrumentalities, vehicles and places where and through which each and all religious parties may maintain their own views freely and without hindrance, and combat those of their opponents—we mean the pulpit, the theological reviews, and the religious newspapers; and thirdly, because their work is devoted solely and exclusively to literary and political objects." The editor adds that this does not imply an exclusion of philosophical and non-controversive theological essays, which shall be accepted if they are of sufficient *literary* merit. Further he says: "We mean to place this work on the most liberal basis, and to express no theological opinion in it to which the most scrupulous Christian of any name or denomination can possibly object. We have not come here to open the fountain of bitter waters on the angry and time-worn arena of theological controversy, but rather to promote and accomplish objects of great weight and interest to the durability of your institution, the salvation of this dear region, the glory of the whole Union, and the fame of American literature."

Finally, in respect to his literary purposes, the editor tells us that it is his aim, generally, "to make a vigorous movement in behalf of Southern literature"; for, he adds, "there is to be, if there be not already, a Southern, as well as a Northern, literature in our country, but not for that reason, in either case, less an American literature"; and, particularly, in criticism and controversy, "to extenuate nothing nor set down aught in malice, and let us have no concealments, no vacillation in expressing your views with a down-right honesty of purpose, no skulking behind hedges, no lying in ambush and aiming your arrows at us from a dark corner." Such are the things that the Quarterly was to stand for in its political, philosophical and literary tenets.

Number one of Volume I contains seven leading articles, on "Currency and Exchanges"; "Hillhouse's 'Hadad'"; "History of the Italian Republics"; "Miss Sedgwick's Letters from Abroad"; "Constitution of the United States"; "Buckingham's America"; and "Stephens' Central America."

The second number (April) of Volume I contains ten principal articles: "Taylor's 'Natural History of Society,'" "Education," "Lives of the Queens of England," "State of Education and Learning in Cuba," "History of Mormonism," "Refrigeration and Ventilation of Cities," "East India Cotton," "American Poetry," "The Tariff," "Lives of Literary and Scientific Men of Italy." There are in addition the regular departments of "Critical Notices," "Literary Announcements," and "New Publications." From a literary standpoint, the most notable article in this number is Article VIII, p. 493, "American Poetry." While nominally a review of the poems of Longfellow, the essay is much more than that, for the writer introduces the review proper with a discussion of the conditions of American literature, especially American poetry. First, he asks, "What is poetry?" and answers: "It is the investing with the attribute of beauty and novelty those events or actions which are, in themselves, merely commonplace. It is the endowing the ordinary actions and concerns of humanity with an interest and a purpose, which reach unto the skies, and proclaim themselves the offspring of 'universal goodness.'—In past times, the poetry of the world existed apart from the real interests and concerns of life;—but when Republican America was spoken into existence, poetry descended into the hearts of men and became a part of the life and breath of all. It was no longer an art; it was a feeling—an impulse—which animated alike all bosoms, and led to deeds which were of themselves immortal.—Poetry! Why, America is *all* poetry. The pages of our Constitution—the deeds of our patriot sires—the deliberations of our sages and statesmen—the civilization and progress of our people—the wisdom of our laws, the greatness of our name—are all covered over

with the living fire of poetry; and such poetry, too, as no single brain could conceive or pen delineate. What is the machinery of rhymes and metre, and strophes and apostrophes, compared with the living and breathing soul of the ideal made practical, which dwells within every American bosom, and sheds a halo of immortal glory over this free soil? Sickly tapers, going out in the sunshine! The poet of America is the genius of her institutions, and our national epic is the memory of our origin, and the contemplation of our destiny.——We do not mean, however, to say that we have no written poetry or literature.——We begin where other nations have ended.——When the accumulating materials of our national literature are all collected, and the edifice constructed, it will indeed be a temple worthy of the genius of that people, who alone could have created it."

The writer proceeds to the poems of Longfellow, which he quotes at length, and tells us that "his poetry is a perfect dream of tender and subduing harmony," and "we have at least *one* true poet of inspiration."

The first volume, as we have seen from the title page quoted above, was published in New Orleans. In a few months, however, the *Quarterly* was removed to Charleston, where it should naturally have been, as it was the lineal descendant of the old *Southern Review*. Indeed, the *Southern Quarterly* was so closely modelled upon the older Review, and so truly a continuation of its plans and methods, that it was virtually a revival of the short-lived publication of Elliott and Legare. Its editors were careful to claim this distinction for the new Quarterly, and strove for the old Review's heritage of friends and influence.

The title page of Volume II (July and October), 1842, is as follows:

THE
SOUTHERN QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

Jove judicat æque.—Horace.

Eo ego ingenio natura sum, amicitiam.

Atque inimicitiam in fronte promptam gero.—Ennius.

Vol. II.

CHARLESTON:
Published by the Proprietors.

1842.

The first number (whole number, III) contains the department, "Critical Notices" and "Literary Intelligence," and eleven principal articles: "The Ancient Egyptians," "The Creole Case," "Classical Literature," "Lord Bolingbroke," "Mexico and Texas," "The Chinese," "Channing's 'Duty of the Free States,'" "Bulwer's 'Zanoni,'" Mott's Travels in Europe and the East," "Whewell on the Inductive Sciences," and "Rhode Island Affairs." In the Critical Notices is a review of Griswold's "The Poets and Poetry of America." The writer severely arraigns Griswold on the charge of injustice to Southern writers, and maintains that the book should have been called "The Poets of the Northern States of the United States."

Number two (October) of Volume II contains "Critical Notices" and ten leading articles: "Women Physiologically Considered," "Ahasuerus, a Poem," "Canaan Identified with the Ethiopian," "Morley Ernstine," by G. P. R. James; "Camp's 'Democracy,'" "D'Oeuvres de Vico," "Story's Commentaries," "The Tariff," "Transcendentalism," and "Schlegel's 'History of Literature.'"

As we have said before, Volume II marked the removal of the *Quarterly* from New Orleans to Charleston, S. C. In regard to this change, a later editor (DeBow, in *DeBow's Review*, Volume IX, p. 125) tells us: "The removal from New Orleans was regarded, to some extent, as an infraction of the editor's and subscribers' treaty, and there was some confusion in the subscription price—many persons being assessed to double the extent of others. To add to the dissatisfaction, several articles, highly political in their character, and reflecting upon distinguished public men, with hosts of admirers at the South, found place in

the pages of the *Review*, though its *neutral* character had been guaranteed."

Such were some of the difficulties that interfered with the success of the magazine during the publication of this and the next four or five volumes.

Volume III contains two numbers (five and six of the old series), for January and April, respectively, 1843. The first of these contains "Critical Notices," and nine principal essays: "General History of Civilization in Europe," "Oeuvres de Masi-lon," "Collections of the Georgia Historical Society," "The Civil Law," "Anthon's Classical Dictionary," "State Debts," "Dickens' 'American Notes,'" "Chemistry and Geology," and the "Anglo-Eastern Empire." Among the noteworthy features of the number is the condemnation of Dickens in the review of his "American Notes." "We are sadly disappointed in our expectations," says the critic. "The work before us is evidently written in haste, without regard to the previous reputation of the author, and is pervaded by a captious, sneering spirit. There are occasional exhibitions of his peculiar powers of humor; some graphic descriptions of interesting scenes, at which we pause with commendation; the author is sometimes pleased, or pretends to be so: he utters, now and then, a well-timed compliment, which will be felt and remembered; but taking the work as a whole, we have seldom read a more fault-finding, discourteous, bitter and shallow production."

The second number of this volume contains "Critical Notices," which are much less numerous than usual, and ten leading contributions: "Schlegel's 'Philosophy of History,'" "Virginia and New York Controversy," "The Sources of National Wealth," "Inda and Other Poems," "The Criminal Law," "Construction of the Constitution," "Dicken's Novels," "Agricultural Survey of South Carolina," "Mesmerism," and "Life of John C. Calhoun."

The second article refers to an interstate controversy about fugitive slaves.

Volume IV comprises, as usual, two numbers. These are

July and October, 1843, which contain 260 and 268 pages, respectively, and are numbers VII and VIII, of the whole series. Number VII contains ten principal articles and fifteen "Critical Notices." Of the former, the subjects are: "International Copyright;" "Edwin the Fair," a review of "An Historical Drama, by Henry Taylor;" "Democracy in America," a review of De Tocqueville's book, on that subject; a review of the "Lays of Ancient Rome;" "Capital Punishment;" "American Loyalists;" "Progress of Civilization," a review of Guizot's Histories; a review of Bowen's "Memoir of Tristam Burges;" "Physic and Physicians;" and a review of the "Last of the Barons."

Number VIII contains eight leading essays and twenty "Critical Notices." The subject of the former are: "Milman's 'History of Christianity,'" "Dickensoniana," a barbarous word, by the way, to express facts about Dickens, or something of that sort; "Maritime Interests of the South and West," "Sketch of the Honorable Hugh S. Legare," "The Writings of Washington Allston," "The Life and Writings of Swedenborg," "Physics and Physicians," "The Novels of Frederika Bremer." Of these the "Sketch of Legare," and the "Writings of Washington Allston" are essays of value to the historian or student of Southern literature. The former deals with its subject more from other standpoints than that of literary work; the latter furnishes a bibliography of the writer's published books, and a study of his life and paintings. Accompanying the article on "The Maritime Interests of the South and West" is a folded map of the West Indies and the adjacent coasts and waters.

Volume V, January and April, 1844, contains two numbers of 264 and 268 pages, respectively. These are numbers IX and X. The former contains six principal reviews and nine "Critical Notices." The reviews are: "The French Revolution," "Matthew's 'Poems on Man,'" "The North American Indians," "Relations of the Ancient World," "Percival's Poems," and "Socrates."

The most considerable of these essays is the first, which extends to 102 pages.

Number X consists of eight essays or reviews and eight "Critical Notices." The former are: "Herder's Philosophy of History," "The Reformed Israelites," "American Oratory," "History of Florida," "Milton's Genius—Imitation and Use of the Moderns," "Life and Character of M. de Malesherbes," "Puseyism no Popery," and "The Mysteries of Paris."

The essay on "American Oratory" is a review of two books—"The Speeches of John C. Calhoun: Harper & Bros., 1843," and "The Life and Speeches of Henry Clay, 2 vols.: N. Y., Greeley & McElrath, 1843." During this year, 1844, and into 1845, an associate editor and frequent contributor to the *Quarterly* was J. D. B. DeBow, soon to found, in New Orleans, the *Commercial Review* that bore his name.

Volume VI contains the usual two numbers, for July and October, of 268 and 260 pages, respectively. The first of these, Number XI, contains seven principal articles and ten "Critical Notices." Of the first class are: "Ireland," "Milton's Genius," "Victor Hugo's 'Burgraves,'" "Characteristics of the Statesman," "The Colonial Era of South Carolina," "Prescott's Conquest of Mexico," and the "Santa Fe Expedition," the last a review of Kendall's narrative. The essay entitled "Characteristics of the Statesman" is not signed, but it was certainly written by James D. B. DeBow, who was editor of the magazine during this year, and who afterwards published the same, or practically the same, article in the *Commercial Review*, which he published in New Orleans.

Number XII contains nine principal articles and eleven "Critical Notices." The former are: "Rome and the Romans," "Writings of Cornelius Mathews," "The Heretic of Lajechnikoff," "Cicero's Letters," "Law and Lawyers," "German Novelists," "Spalding's Review of D'Aubigne," "System of Common Schools," and "Annexation of Texas." Of these, the fifth, entitled "Law and Lawyers," is a fifty-eight page dissertation by the editor, DeBow, who reprinted this also in his *Commercial Review*. The writer of the article on the "Southern System of Common Schools" finds three reasons for the failure of the pub-

lic schools in the South: The influence of the older private schools; the failure of the common schools to afford proper instruction, and prejudice against public schools as charity institutions.

Volume VII, January and April, 1845, contains two numbers of 260 and 272 pages, respectively. The first number, XIII, consists of eight leading contributions and twelve "Critical Notices." Of the former are: "Education in Europe," a review of Sparks's "Life of the Sieur de la Salle," "Literature of the Bible," "Life and Writings of Rabelais," "La Pavane, par Madame la Comtesse Merlin," "Works of William Hauff," "Mrs. Gray's History of Etruria," and "Memoirs of Aaron Burr." The last article is a notable, fair-minded review of a life of Aaron Burr, written only a few years after his death, and should be of some interest in the revival of attention to the tragic story of that talented man. The review is thirty pages long, and begins on page 220.

Worthy of note in the "Critical Notices" of this number is a brief review of "Americanism in Literature" (Charleston: Burges and James, 1844), by Alexander B. Meek, of Alabama.

We are informed of the editor's intention to place the initials of contributors at the end of articles, which have hitherto rarely furnished even this imperfect clue to authorship.

Number XIV contains eight principal articles, fourteen "Critical Notices," and "Editorial Notes." The first class contains "Ante-Roman Races of Italy," "Poems of Elizabeth B. Barrett," "Spirit of the Age," "Religion in America," "Unity of the Races," "The Judicial Tenure," "Mr. Hoar's Mission" [to South Carolina], and "Carolina Political Annals." The most noteworthy, perhaps, of these articles are the review, probably by William Gilmore Simms, of Horne's "Spirit of the Age," and the historically valuable paper on "Carolina Political Annals."

With this volume, VII, or during the publication of Volume VIII, DeBow's associate editorship ceases.

Volume VIII, July and October, 1845, consists of two num-

bers of 264 pages each. The first of these, XV, contains six leading essays, "Critical Notices" and "Editorial Notes." The first are: "The Exploring Expedition of 1838-'42," "Writings of Washington Irving," "The Roman Law," "The Agricultural Prospects of South Carolina; Her Resources and Her True Policy," "An Issue With the Reviewer of Nott's 'Caucasian and Negro Races,'" [a reply by Dr. Nott himself to his reviewer], "The Northern Pacific," "California, Oregon, and the Oregon Question." The last article, above mentioned, is accompanied by a map of the western coast, and was written by James D. B. DeBow, the "D" of numerous articles in this and other volumes. This essay, which is an able discussion of the complexities of what was called the "Oregon Question," attracted very wide attention and very favorable opinion. It begins on page 191.

Among the "Critical Notices" we note the "Writings of Hugh S. Legare," which contain a partial list of Legare's contributions to periodicals.

Number XVI comprises nine leading articles, seventeen "Critical Notices," "Literary Announcements," and "Editorial Notes." Of the first class are: "The Exploring Expedition" (condensed from last number), "Railroad Communication Between Charleston, Savannah and Nashville," "Slavery in the Southern States," "Mississippi Affairs," a discussion of the Nation Institute for the Promotion of Science, "Mrs. Welby's (Amelia) Poems," "The State of Georgia: Its Duties and Destiny," "England Under Seven Administrations," and "Life, Character and Speeches of the Late Robert Y. Hayne." Especially noteworthy are Article VII, probably by Dr. Josiah Nott, on the State of Georgia, a subject to which the author does not at all limit himself, but from which he diverges to the discussion of the great educational and political questions of the time; and Article IX, on Robert G. Hayne, the famous opponent of Daniel Webster.

Volume IX, January and April, 1846, consists of the usual two numbers, of 284 and 260 pages, respectively. The first

number, XVII of the whole series, contains eight long articles, nineteen short "Critical Notices," and an editor's note. The long articles are: "Unity of the Human Race," a continuation, by Dr. Nott, of the discussion for some time carried on in the pages of the Quarterly (see preceding volume); "The Statesmen of Suez," "The Wandering Jew," by Eugene Sue; "The Tariff," "The Jesuits," "Life and Speeches of John C. Calhoun," "Tieck's 'Gestiefelte Kater,'" and "Internal Improvements." A noticeable feature of the number is the improvement in type, which begins with it. In an editorial, the late associate editor of the *Quarterly*, De Bow, is thanked for "the first number of his sterling magazine," *DeBow's Commercial Review* of New Orleans.

Number XVIII contains nine principal articles and thirty-five "Critical Notices." The former are: "Present Condition of Palestine," "Writings of Hugh Swinton Legare," "Histoire de la Louisiane," by Chas. Gayarre; "Unity of the Human Race," "Political Economy," "The Army in Texas," "The Knights Templars" (sic), "The Annals of the English Bible," and a review of "Margaret, a Tale of the Real and the Ideal." The most noteworthy of these are the second and third. The second, a forty page essay, probably by Hayne or by Ewin Heriot, is a review of Legare's works, edited and published in 1846, by his sister. The third is a review of Chas. Gayarre's History of the early years of Louisiana.

Among the noteworthy articles in the unusually long list of "Critical Notices" is a review of "Knights of the (Golden) Horse Shoe," by W. A. Caruthers, of Virginia, published in 1845, at Huntingdon, Ala.

Volume X, July and October, 1846, consists of two numbers, XIX and XX of the whole series, of 256 and 260 pages, respectively. Silas Howe is given as the general agent in Charleston, S. C., and to each number is appended a list of the paying subscribers of the magazine.

Number XIX consists of eight long articles and sixteen

"Critical Notices. The former are: "Homer's Iliad," "The Preacher," "Onslow, or the Protege of an Enthusiast, an Historical Traditionary Tale of the South," "Italy," "The Study of History," "The Condition of Woman," "Mr. Clay and the American System," and the "Nebular Hypothesis."

Number XX embraces eight leading articles, three "Critical Notices" and two "Editorial Notes." The first are: "Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," "Natural History of the Spider," "Emanuel Swedenborg," "Everett's Essays and Poems," "Roman Literature," "The Memphis Convention," "Halleck's Military Art and Science," "Mr. Calhoun and the Mississippi." The last of these is by far the strongest article of the issue, and extends to more than sixty pages. It is an animated discussion of Mr. Calhoun's "change of opinion" in seeming to desert the cause of State-rights and go over to the Unionists by supporting the recommendation of the Memphis Convention of 1846, for the improvement by the Federal Government of the Mississippi and its tributaries. In the editorial note on the subject of Mr. Calhoun and the Mississippi, we have an outline of what was then the repaidly maturing political doctrine of the South: "We at the South go for a constitutional administration of government, or we go for a revolution of the government. We will struggle for our rights and liberties, and maintain our independence."

It is editorially stated that Burges and James, the publishers, will now be also the general agents of the Review and "charged with the direction of its financial affairs."

Volume XI consists of two numbers, twenty-one and twenty-two, for January and April, 1847, and consist of 260 and 264 pages, respectively. Number XXI contains ten long articles and eleven short "Critical Notices." The long articles are: "The Distribution of Wealth," "Labor," "Thimm's Book of German Literature," "Festus, a Poem," reviewed; "American Literature," "Mrs. Dana's Letters," "The Modawaska Settlement," "Mesmer and Swedenborg," and "Proverbial Philosophy." Of these the most noteworthy is the essay called "American Litera-

ture," which is a fifty page argument for the study of philosophy, particularly, and of the learned branches generally. The title is a misnomer, but the essay itself is better than its sailing under false colors would seem to indicate.

The first of the "Critical Notices" is a review of a work by M. F. Maury, called "Astronomical Observations Made During the Year 1845," etc.

Number XXII contains seven leading essays or reviews, six "Critical Notices," an "Address to the Patrons of the Review, and to the People of the South," and "Editorial Notes."

With this number begins the editorship of Milton Clapp, successor to Daniel K. Whitaker, whose control of the magazine ceased with the last number, which was published by the new proprietors and former printers of the Review, Burges & James.

Writing in April, 1847, and speaking of the *Quarterly*, DeBow, of New Orleans, where he was then editing his *Commercial Review*, says: "It is now in new hands; we know the editor—the South can produce few better scholars." The new editor had for been several years editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, and had won "high laurels in the political field." DeBow tells us that Mr. Clapp " * * * inspired the confidence of the South and added to himself additional laurels."

The long articles of this number are: "Address to the Patrons," by the editor; "Athens and the Athenians," "The Life and Correspondence of John Foster," "The Election of Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States," "The Wilmot Proviso," "Pond's Plato," "The Autobiography of Goethe," and "The Revolutionary History of South Carolina." In his "address" the editor praises the perseverance of the retiring editor, D. K. Whitaker, announces the new regime of the *Review*, and outlines the future policy and purpose of the *Quarterly*. The magazine is to be given a wider scope—"No topic is alien to its pages," and especial emphasis is laid upon the desire for discussion of the slavery question.

A "List of New Publications" is appended to the usual de-

partment of the *Review*, and the editor publishes a note of apology for a delay of three weeks in the appearance of the *Review*. In this note he tells us that the "transfer" or "change of control" was made after the 1st of February, and that he himself took charge the middle of February.

Volume XII, July and October, 1847, was published by Burges and James. The editorial conduct of the *Review* was still in the hands of J. Milton Clapp. The first number, XXIII, of the series, contains eight long articles and two shorter "Critical Notices," all amounting to 272 pages. The former are: "China and the Chinese," a fifty page essay; "Robert Hall's Works," a review of William Elliott's "Carolina Sports," published in 1846, by Burges and James; "Slavery in the United States," "The Valley of the Amazon," "Ecclesiastical History of England," "Fanny Kemble,"⁶ a review of Mrs. Butler's "A Year of Consolation;" and "The Law of Libel," a review of Dr. Thos. Cooper's work on that subject. One of the two "Critical Notices," which are longer and fewer in number than usual, is a review of Simm's "Life of Captain John Smith."

Number XXIV contains seven essays and nine "Critical Notices." The former are: "The Quadrupeds of North America," "Mutual Influence of National Literatures," "Mexico—Her People and Her Revolutions," "Lives of the Lord Chancellors," "The Territorial Government of the United States," "Dr. Chalmers," and "Lieber's 'Political Ethics.'" Of these, the second is a review of "Select Specimens of Foreign Literature," a serial conducted by George Ripley, in Boston. The author of the *Review* commends this and other efforts to familiarize Americans with the best foreign literature, and he denies that to ignore such works in favor of native productions will benefit the cause of American literature. Among the "Critical Notices" are a review of W. C. Rives's discourse on the "Uses and Importance of History," and a notice of the "Southern Presbyterian Review, of Columbia, S. C." The number contains 264 pages.

Volume XIII begins the issue for 1848, and contains two

numbers, January and April, of the whole series numbers XXV and XXVI, of 272 and 264 pages, respectively.

Number XXV contains six leading articles and seven "Critical Notices." The former are: "War and its Incidents," "The Turkish Language," "McKenzie's Works," "The Growth and Consumption of Cotton," "Prescott's 'Conquest of Peru,'" and "British Reviewers and the United States." Article six is an able plea for harmony between the two great peoples of the Anglo-Saxon race. The author deprecates the harshness of English criticism, and contends that, owing to its short existence and the stress of two considerable wars, the American people has had neither time nor leisure for the development of a literature. "The genius of the American people," says he, "is too youthful for poetry. . . . To write poetry well, it is requisite that the people of a country should have attained that state in which they repose from labor to a certain degree. . . . in which men sit down to enjoy the fruits of a long period of exertion in the industrial arts," and with such reasoning he argues against the demand for a prompt appearance of a distinctly American literature. The article is a well written essay of nearly forty pages. Among the "Critical Notices," "A Voice from the South" is most considerable. It is a seven page discussion of a pamphlet on the slavery question.

Number XXVI consists of seven long articles and five "Critical Notices." The former are: The conclusion of the review of "Prescott's 'Conquest of Peru';" a review of Mrs. Lincoln Phelps's "Ida Norman," "A New Route to China," "The History and Economy of Railroads;" "North American Foxes;" a review of "The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America," by Audubon and Bachman; "The Philosophical Character of Swedenborg," and "A History of Georgia."

Among the "Critical Notices" is a review, longer than usual in this department, of the miscellaneous writings of Simms.

Volume XIV completes the issue for 1848, with the July and October numbers of that year, which contain 260 and 281 pages, respectively. The first of these, Number XXVII, contains nine

long articles and three "Critical Notices." The former are: "Progress of Political Economy," "South Carolina in the Revolution," "Carlyle's Work," "Fugitive Poetry of America," "Hurlbut's Essays," "The Danger and Safety of the Republic," "Religious Instruction of Slaves," "The Army in Texas," and "The French Republic." The most notable of these, from a literary standpoint, is the thirty page essay on "American Fugitive Poetry." "With us," says the author, after a lengthy review of American and foreign literary conditions, "literature is an amusement and a relaxation, rather than a business." The intention of the reviewer is to write of authors not generally known as writers of fugitive verse. With this design, he discusses Edgar Allan Poe and his "Raven," and denies merit to the latter; John J. C. Brainard, and his "Migara" and "Midshipman Merry's Lament"; Mrs. Francis S. Osgood and her poem, "The Missing Gifts"; William Wallace and his poem, "The Statuary"; "Gretta," of Baltimore, and several anonymous poems.

Number XXVIII embraces seven long articles. There is no department of "Critical Notices." The articles are: "The Siege of Charleston in the American Revolution," "Taylor's Notes from Life," "Brook's Classics," "Slavery Among the Romans," "Legal Education," "Chaucer," and "Headley's 'Life of Cromwell.'" Of these, the most noticeable is the fifty-seven page essay on "Chaucer."

Volume XV, April and July, 1849, marks the beginning of William Gilmore Simm's editorship of the *Quarterly*. In March of that year J. Milton Clapp was succeeded by the "one professional writer of the South," who undertook, at a salary of one thousand dollars a year, to revivify the *Review*, or, more accurately, perhaps, to enliven it, for it had never been either quite dead or very sprightly. It would very probably have been thought that if there was any man in the South who could make a success of the *Quarterly*, which had been rather on the down hill path for some time, that man was Simms. For not only

was he an author of some general and very great local reputation, but he was also an experienced journalist and editor, although his signally poor success in his attempt at magazine culture, and the generally brief existence of his journalistic nurslings, had left it as a matter of doubt whether Charleston conditions or the superintendency of Simms were the more certain cause of sudden death to a magazine. Nevertheless, great hopes were raised for the *Quarterly*, and results seemed for awhile to justify the expectations of the most hopeful; for the publication did improve at once, and seemed to promise greater things, but the promise may hardly be said to have been fulfilled. Simms was a man of remarkable energy and activity, and while he was editing the *Southern Quarterly Review*, he was writing for other magazines, lecturing from city to city, writing romances, carrying on a vigorous correspondence, and in many other ways dividing the energies that would have made him more noticeably successful, had he concentrated them upon almost any one of the departments, than he could possibly be with his interest and time so divided. Along with the others, the *Quarterly* suffered also, and hastily composed articles helped superficial reviews to deaden the influence of the *Review* and bring disappointment to the bright hopes that had at first seemed well grounded. After nearly seven years of this insufficient attention the *Quarterly* was turned over, in 1855, to the publisher—and another magazine soon went the way of its kind in Charleston*

The first number, XXIX of the whole series, shows some changes of arrangement, such as the departments called "Quarterly List of New Publications" and "Literary Intelligence." In addition to these, there are six long articles and three "Critical Notices." The articles are: "Political Economy," "Modern Prose Fiction," "Origin of the War With Mexico," "Guizot's 'Democracy in France,'" "Slavery and the Abolitionists," and "Railroad and Canal Routes to California." Perhaps the most

* For this period of Simms's Life, cf. Trent, *Life of Simms*

valuable of these is the forty page essay beginning on page 41, on "Modern Fiction."

Among the "Critical Notices" is a review of Jared Sparks's editions of Washington's works. The department of "New Publications" contains a valuable classified list of recent books, pamphlets and speeches. The "Literary Intelligence" is an announcement of John P. Kennedy's "Life of William Wirt."

Number XXX contains eleven long articles and four "Critical Notices." There are no other departments. The chief articles are: "The North and the South," "Union of Church and State," "The Fine Arts in America," "Justice and Fraternity," "Macaulay's History of England," "The Conquest of California, and the Case of Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont," "Genera Floræ Americae Boreali Orientali, Illustrated," "The Fall of the Sloop of War Wasp," "Barhydl's Industrial Exchanges," "Later Poems of Henry Taylor," and a "Monograph on the Fossil Squalidæ of the United States." These two numbers contain 270 and 274 pages, respectively, slightly more than usual.

The new arrangement of the affairs of the *Quarterly* at the beginning of 1849 delayed the publication of the first number, and instead of appearing in February, it was published in April. The May number was not issued until July, and consequently one whole number was passed by and only three numbers issued that year. The last of these, for October, constitutes, with the issue for January, 1850, the sixteenth volume.

Number XXXI, October, contains eleven long articles and a very much extended department of "Critical Notices," of which there are 49. The long articles are: "Nineveh and its Remains," "Free School System in South Carolina," "Histoire des Girondins, par A. De Lamartine," "Oeuvres de Spinoza," "California," "The Philosophy of the Beautiful, from the French of Cousin;" "The Right to Labor," "The Report on the Geology of South Carolina," "Characteristics of Alabama," "El Busapie," and "Recent American Poets."

In the last of these essays are reviews of the poems of Bayard Taylor, of Rev. Ralph Hoyt, and of two South Carolinians, J.

M. Legare (Orte Undis and other poems, Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1849), and Robert P. Hall (poems by a South Carolinian. Charleston: Sam'l Hart, 1848).

Number XXXII (January, 1850) contains eight long articles. There are no "Critical Notices." The former are: "The Present State of Europe," "Charicles, or Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks," "British West India Islands," "Dramatic Literature," "The Anatomy of the Navigation Laws," "Opinions of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States," "The Constitutions of France, Monarchical and Republican," and "Philosophic Theology." The article on "Dramatic Literature" is a review of George Booker's "Calaynos," but extends to a general essay.

Volume XVII of the first series of the *Quarterly* begins a new series, of which it is, consequently, Volume I, April and July, 1850. On the title page we find:

"Published by Walker and Richards,
To whom all communications must be addressed.
Steam-Power Press of Walker and James,
101 East Bay."

This change was due to the failure of the old firm of Burges & James, and the passing of the magazine into new hands. Charleston continued to be the home of the *Quarterly*, and Simms its editor.

The volume contains no separate table of contents for each number, as before; but there is an appended general index of the whole volume.

The April number, whole number 33, new number 1, contains ten long articles and sixty-three "Critical Notices." The long articles are: "The Mines of California," "Oration Before the South Carolina College," "Navigation Laws," "The Relations Between Spain and England," "Philosophic Theology," "Cryptogamous Origin of Fevers," "Humboldt's 'Aspects of Nature,'" "Glimpses of Spain," and "Kennedy's 'Life of Wirt.'"

Among the numerous "Critical Notices" especially noticeable are those of "Dr. Bachman's 'The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race'"; "The Schoolfellow," a juvenile magazine, edited by William C. Richards, and published in Charleston; and "Notice to Mariners," by M. F. Maury. The number contains 272 pages, and no editorial notices.

New series No. 2, July, contains nine leading articles, thirty-nine "Critical Notices," and a department of "Scientific and Literary Intelligence." The long articles are: "California Gold and European Revolution," "Ellett's 'Women,'" "Sentimental Prose Fiction," "Tuckerman's 'Essays and Essayists,'" "Lyell's Second Visit to the United States," "Physical History of the Jewish Race," "Jury Trial and the Federal Court," "Philosophic Theology" (continued), and "Manual of Ancient Geography and History." In the thirty-eighth "Critical Notice" is a separately numbered review of 29 new novels, among which are: "Odd Leaves from the Life of a Louisiana 'Swamp Doctor,'" and several equally unfamiliar titles of Southern works.

Volume II of the New Series, XVIII of the old issue, contains two numbers, for September and November, 1850, of 272 pages each. Each number has its separate table of contents. The first, whole number thirty-five, contains ten long articles and eighteen classes of "Critical Notices." The former are: "Wordsworth's Writings," "Summer Travel in the South," "Topics in the History of South Carolina," "History of Spanish Literature," "The Government and the Currency," "Baker's 'Anne Boleyn,'" "Law Reports and Reporters," "The National Anniversary," "The Southern Convention," and "Baily's 'Angel World.'"

The November number contains ten long articles and seventeen "Critical Notices." The former are: "Ticknor's 'Spanish Literature,'" "Carlyle's 'Latter Day Pamphlets,'" "The Penitentiary System," "Miles Mohammed, a Tragedy," "Ancient and Scriptural Chronology," "The Battles of the Rio Grande," "The Judiciary System of South Carolina," "John

Caldwell Calhoun," "March's 'Reminiscences of Congress,'" and "Military School of South Carolina."

The first of the "Critical Notices" is a review of "In Memoriam," "understood to be by Alfred Tennyson." The reviewer has high hopes for Tennyson's future, but not very high praise for the memorial to Hallam, and says: "For the volume before us, a few words will suffice. It contains, undoubtedly, a considerable proportion of excellent verse, . . . but the plan of the volume is monotonous." Altogether the notice leads us to think there must have been something fatally wrong in Mr. Simms' canons of poetical criticism and appreciation.

Volume III (whole number XIX) contains the numbers (N. S. 5 and 6, old series 37 and 38) for January and April, 1851. The first contains nine long articles and fifty-four "Critical Notices." The former are: "History of the Polk Administration," "Mental Hygiene," "The Genius and Writings of Thackeray," "The Rights of the Slave States," "The Battle of Buena Vista," "Is Southern Civilization Worth Preserving?" "Writings of Professor Francis," "Elementary Sketches of Moral Philosophy," and "Tallulah and Other Poems." The sixth of these is an impassioned defence of the South against the Northern anti-slavery and anti-State-rights movements. The last article is a review of a volume of poetry by Henry R. Jackson, published in Savannah, 1858, by J. N. Cooper. After free quotation from the poems, the reviewer concludes: "With a sweet and lively fancy, chaste and spirited, our author unites correct and appropriate thought, a pure moral, a faculty for song, which, with proper training, will hardly shrink from comparison with the best of our lyrists."

Among the "Critical Notices," especially noteworthy here, are those of the "Position and Course of the South (by William Henry Treseott. Charleston: 1850), and "Education and Literature in Virginia" (by John R. Thompson; Richmond: H. K. Ellyson, 1850).

The April number contains eleven long articles and fifty-five

"Critical Notices." The former are: "Slavery Throughout the World," "Cimon and Pericles," a review based upon Bishop Thirlwall's History of Greece; "Americus Vespuclius," "Diversity of the Races; Its Bearing Upon Negro Slavery," "Physical Science in Its Relation to Natural and Revealed Religion," "Everett's Orations and Speeches," "Journalism in the United States," "The Poetical Remains of Mary E. Lee," a review of a book of that title, edited by S. Gilman, D. D., printed by Walker & Richards, Charleston; "Rural Cemeteries," "The Prospect Before Us," and "An Inquiry Into Roman Jurisprudence." Of these, the article on American Journalism deserves special note here. The first and larger part of the article is given to the discussion of the general aspects of newspaper publishing in this country without reference to particular papers, and hence its historical value is not great; the latter part deals with the subject of "Literary Journals," and is somewhat fuller in its historical information, though far from exhaustive. The long series of "Critical Notices" contains the names of many of the most important, and not a few lastingly unimportant, books of the year.

Volume XX, New Series IV, contains the issues for July and October, 1851, of 272 pages each. The first of these consists of nine leading essays, and fifty-three "Critical Notices." The former are: "The Siege of Vera Cruz," "Garland's Life of Randolph," "Caius Graecus," "Gayarre's 'Louisiana,'" "Hammond's Eulogy Upon Calhoun," "Negro and White Slavery—Wherein Do They Differ?" "Lord Holland's Reminiscences," "Islamism," and "Pritchard's 'Unity of the Races.'" Perhaps the most notable of these is the review of Hugh A. Garland's "Life of John Randolph" (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1850). The article was written by Judge Beverley Tucker, who was John Randolph's half brother, and whose authority is hence very valuable on the historical side of the subject. The article is twenty pages long, and begins on page 41.

Among the "Critical Notices," a review of "Maury's Investigations of the Winds and Currents of the Sea" (Washington: C. Alexander, 1851); "Barnwell's 'Arguments of Separate Action'" (Charleston: Walker & James, 1851); "A Notice of 'Traditions and Reminiscences,'" by Joseph Johnson (Charleston: Walker & James, 1851); "History of Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi from the Earliest Times," by Albert James Pickett (Charleston: Walker & James, 1851), and "The Probable Relations Between Megnetism and the Circulation of the Atmosphere," by M. F. Maury (Washington: C. Alexander, 1851), are included.

The October number, whole number 40, contains nine long articles and an unusually short list of "Critical Notices," fourteen in all. The long articles are: "South Carolina—Her Present Attitude and Future Action," "Separate Secession," "Popular Discourses and Orations," "The Athenian Orators," "On the Philosophy of 'Language,'" "Kavanagh's 'Woman in France,'" "The Diversity and Origin of Human Races," "Popular Education," and "Gleanings from Neglected Poetry." The second article is a typical South Carolina *ante-bellum* article; for, though the author protests against "Separate Secession," he has no doubt about the desirability of a general secession of Southern States: witness: "We have no love for the Union; we have no fear of its dissolution. Welcome as summer showers to the sun-parched earth, welcome as heaven's free air to the heartsick tenant of a dungeon, would come to us the voice of freedom, the word, the deed, which would tend to burst our bonds, and in earnest faith, contribute to the disruption of this proud fabric, . . . which, under the name of Union, threatens to crush us beneath its unholy power."

The article on "Popular Education" is a plea for better general education in the South, and an endorsement of "common schools," whose lack of support and equipment in the South the author laments.

The last article is a study of ancient and foreign "Neglected

Poetry," which might well have been displaced by a similar essay in works nearer in place and time.

The eighth "Critical Notice" relates to "Calhoun's Works," edited by Richard K. Cralle, of Virginia.

Volume XXI, New Series V, contains the numbers for January and April, 1852, of 272 pages each. The table of contents is arranged alphabetically instead of in order of insertion, as heretofore. The January number contains eleven long articles and a long array of "Critical Notices." The leading articles are: "The Invasion of Cuba," "Relations of Geology to Theology," "Kennedy's 'Swallow Barn,'" "Modern Art," "Female Prose Writers of America," "Battle of Cerro Gordo," "Negro Mania—Race," "Gift Books and Annuals," "Pickett's History of Alabama," "Treatment of Slaves in the Southern States," and "Letter from Hugh A. Garland, Esq., in relation to the review of his 'Life of John Randolph.'" As usual, the "Critical Notices" contain a valuable list of the publications of the year.

The April number embraces eight long articles and a few "Critical Notices." The former are: "American Agriculture," "California Gold," "Enfranchisement of Women," "Authority in Matters of Opinion," "The Battle of Contreras," "Halm's 'Son of the Wilderness,'" "The Phonetic Bible," and "Domestic Histories of the South." The last article is a review of two historical essays by George R. Gilmer (Athens: White & Brother, 1851), and John P. Kennedy (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1851), respectively. •

In the "Critical Notices" are several Southern titles of minor importance, such, for instance, as "Barnwell's Moral Claims of Temperance" (Parks & Co).

Volume XXII, New Series VI, completes the issue for 1852, and contains the numbers for July and October of that year, of 280 and 268 pages, respectively. The first consists of ten long articles and thirty-eight pages of "Critical Notices." The former are: "Pennsylvania Iron Memorial," "False Views of

History," "Cartwright on Negroes," "Men and Women of the Eighteenth Century," "The Battle of Churubusco," "Branty Mayer's 'Mexico,'" "The Baron DeKalb," "Kennedy's 'Horseshoe Robinson,'" "Kossuth and Intervention," and "The Medical Schools of the South." The review of Kennedy's novel is singularly fair and appreciative, especially when we consider that the author of the review was very probably Simms, who wrote a novel of the same period of history in which "Horseshoe-Robinson" was laid. The "Critical Notices" of this and other volumes of Simms's editorship would be a valuable help in the compilation of a Southern bibliography.

The October number, whole number 44, contains ten long articles and twenty-eight pages of short "Critical Notices." The former are: "Battle of El Molino del Ray," "The Proprietary History of South Carolina," "Value of Words—Language," "Marcus Aurelius," "English Universities," "Stephen's 'History of France,'" "Instruction in Schools and Colleges," "Laws of Life," "Building and Loan Associations," and "The Natural Characteristics of the Book of Jonah." Among the works cited in the "Critical Notices" are Maury's Sailing Directions" (fourth edition), "Wheeler's Historical Sketches of North Carolina," "E. J. Pringle's 'Slavery in the Southern States,'" "Griffin's Southern School Books," "The Law of Work" (by T. Bibb Bradley, of Alabama), "Treescott's 'Diplomacy of the American Revolution,'" and other Southern works.

Volume XXIII, published by Walker & Burke, New Series VII, begins 1853, with the numbers for January and April, which contain 272 pages each. The first of these includes, in several varieties of style, seven essays, three letters to the editor, and thirty-nine pages of "Critical Notices." The long articles are: "Battle of Chapultepec," "The Character of the Gentleman," "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Political Philosophy of South Carolina," "Yellow Fever in Charleston," "The Destinies of the South," and "Life of a Negro Slave." In the essay entitled "The Destinies of the South," the author looks for a

dissolution of the Union "by the action of the State, resolving it back into its integrate parts without shedding" the blood of civil war—a remarkable forecast for a South Carolinian in 1853. "Pro and anti-slavery literature constitutes the favorite sort of publication at the present moment," says the editor at the beginning of the "Critical Notices," and his list of titles bears out the statement. Among the important Southern works noticed are: "The Theory of the Common Law," by James M. Walker, of Charleston; Gayarre's "Louisiana," "DeBow's Industrial resources of the South and West," and Dr. Josiah Nott's "Types of Mankind."

The April number, whole number 46, contains six long articles and thirty-six pages of shorter "Notices." The former are: "Oriental Studies—A Sixty-Page Essay on Philology and Linguistics," "Calhoun on Government," "American Literature and Charleston Society," "Emancipation in the British West Indies," "State and Federal Bills of Credit," and "American Authorship." Of these the most noteworthy here are the essays on "American Literature and Charleston Society" and "American Authorship." The first of these inveighs against American vanity and sensitiveness, which he declares to be general causes for foreign criticism. The hopefulness of his view of American Letters is evident when he says: "Our native, original genius has but just begun to develop itself." The purpose of the article is to present the views on America of M. Charles, professor in the College of France. The latter attributes the non-appearance of great poetry in America to the lack of imagination, which is "remembrance idealized," and the nation is not old enough to possess a national "remembrance" of sufficient extent to form the ground of a literature. The article concludes with a lengthy discussion of Carolina social and literary conditions. The second article is an essay, developed around a review of Hawthorne's "The House of the Seven Gables." The author laments the rarity of naturalness and originality in American writing, and the servile imitation of English

models; and he finds the best means to the end of establishing a national literature "the founding of libraries, good schools, well-conducted universities." The reviewer is very certain of the merits of Hawthorne's work, and concludes with the statement that "he is one of the few among our young American authors to whom we look with confidence for the creation of American literature." Altogether, we have seen no better article on the subject in the Southern magazines before the war.

Volume XXIV, New Series VIII, was published in Charleston by Walker & Burke, 3 Broad street, and printed, as before, by Walker & James. It contains the issues for July and October, 1853, of 288 and 268 pages, respectively. The July number consists of eight long articles and thirty-three pages of "Critical Notices." The former are: "State of Parties and the Country," "College and University Education in America," "Aboriginal Race of America," "Secondary Combats of the Mexican War," "Trench on 'Proverbs,'" "The Iroquois Bourbon," "The Student—Love of Study," and "Stowe's 'To Uncle Tom's Cabin.'"

Among the Southern titles cited in the "Critical Notices" are: "North and South," by A. A. Lipscomb, and "The Character and Career of Demosthenes," by G. F. Holmes; "The British Invasion of North Carolina," by David L. Swain; "Robert and Harold, or the Young Marooners" (Charleston: Courtenay, 1853), and "Poe's Works."

The October issue, whole number 48, contains ten long articles and twenty-six pages of "Critical Notices." The former are: "Sir William Hamilton's 'Discussions,'" "Ramsay's 'Annals of Tennessee,'" "British and American Slavery," "Maury on South America and Amazonia," "Miles' 'De Soto,'" "Political Institutions of Sparta and Athens," "What Moves the Table?" "Locke Among the Moonlings," "Septem Contra Thebas," and "Abuse of Suffrage."

Among the "Critical Notices" are: "Uncle Robin in His Cabin in Virginia, and Tom Without One in Boston," by J.

W. Page (Richmond: J. W. Randolph); "Dr. H. A. Ramsay on the Southern Negro," "Anti-Fanaticism," by Martha Haynes Butt, and "The Connection Between Liberty and Eloquence," by William H. Sales, of Georgia.

With Volume XXV, New Series IX, the *Quarterly* ceased to be published by Walker & Burke, and was published by "C. Mortimer," Charleston, who names on the title page of the volume London, Baltimore, Richmond, and Columbia agents of the *Review*. The printers were Walker & James.

Volume XXVI, New Series X, published by Mortimer, contains the issue for July and October, 1854, of 275 and 204 pages, respectively. The first contains eleven long articles, indexed in order of insertion, and thirty-nine pages of "Critical Notices." The long articles are: "Napoleon III and Augustus Caesar," "Political Philosophy of South Carolina," "Africans at Home," "Napoleon Bonaparte and Sir Halson Lowe," "What Is Our Government?" "Necessity of the Classics," "Les Savanes, by L'Abbe Rouquette," "Passion Flowers of Poetry," "South Carolina Military Academies," "Butler's Analogy," and "Banks and Banking."

Among the "Critical Notices" are: "Notes on Virginia," by Jefferson; "Descriptive Sketches" of Virginia, by William S. Forest; "A Lecture on the Atmosphere," by Bennet Puryear; "Tempest and Sunshine," by Mrs. Mary O. Holmes; "Rob of the Bowl," by Kennedy.

To the October number is prefixed a "Publisher's Address," in which we are told that this number was published in Columbia, S. C., because of "the prevailing epidemic in Charleston." In consequence of this move, the *Quarterly* was late, but the publisher hoped to be ready with the next number. The publisher says: "Within the last nine months we have greatly increased our subscription list, extended the circulation of the *Review*, and by no means diminished its popularity. Our periodical has its readers not only in every State of the Union, but also in London, Paris and Berlin." The publisher tells of

"great pecuniary embarrassments," and pleads at great length for general support.

The October number contains nine long articles and twenty-four pages of "Critical Notices." The former are: "On the Unity of the Human Race," "East Florida," "Marriage and Divorce," "Essay on American Society," "Political Elements," "The Prospects and Policy of the South," "Petrarch's 'Laura,'" "Political Philosophy of South Carolina," and "Northern Periodicals *Versus* the South." Among the "Critical Notices," are: "Poems," by Semlan (Charleston: John Russell, 1854), and "Influence of the Mechanic Arts," by Charles Gayarre.

Volume XXVII, New Series XI, was published at Charleston by C. Mortimer, and contains the issues for January and April, 1855, of 276 and 269 pages, respectively. The January number was delayed by a fire in Columbia, which destroyed the office of the *Quarterly* and many important papers which had been moved there from Charleston during the epidemic. The number contains, on poor paper, eight long articles and eight pages of "Critical Notices." The former are: "The North and the South," "Blunders of Hallam," "Powers of the General Government," "The Human Family," "Constitution of the United States," "Chemistry of Common Life," "Party Leaders," and "Recent Social Theories." The "Critical Notices" are fewer than usual, and were probably not written by Simms, who "fell out with his publisher during this year." The latter considered himself competent to edit the publication, and Simms's connection with the *Quarterly* would have ceased* but for the subscribers to the *Review*.

The April number contains ten long articles, and twenty pages of "Critical Notices." The former are: "Benton's 'Thirty Years in the Senate,'" "Louis XIV," "The Chief Justice of the United States," "Ruskin's Architectural Works," "The Russo-Turkish Campaigns," "Principles of Art," "Ruth Hall,"

* Cf. Trent's Life of Simms.

“American Education,” “Observations on the History of Virginia,” and “Applications of Chemistry.” The next to the last of these is a review of R. M. T. Hunter’s “Discourse” on that subject.

Among the “Critical Notices” is “The Physical Geography of the Sea,” by M. F. Maury.

With 1855, Simms’s editorship of the magazine ends. His conduct of the *Review* resulted in great improvements in its literary merits, not only because of the articles that he himself contributed, but because of his better discrimination in the selection of contributed articles. During his editorship, the dull, technical articles that had so often usurped the pages of the *Quarterly* were not so common, and the whole tone of the publication was higher and more purely literary. An especially valuable part of Simms’s work, too, was his extension of the department of “Critical Notices,” in which he gave with each number fair criticism or kindly encouragement to scores of rising authors; and Simms’s endorsement meant much in those days, when he was the Dr. Johnson of Southern letters.

The last volume of the *Quarterly*, a copy of which we have been unable to find, was published, during 1856, at Columbia, S. C., under the editorship of Dr. Thornwell.*

The cessation of the *Quarterly* seems to have been chiefly due to failure in the business department, and in part to the demoralizing influences that became more potent as the inevitableness of war grew more apparent. The subscription list was long, but so were the payments—in coming—and, after Simms’s departure from the sinking ship it was submerged and lost in the turmoil that soon broke into the storm of war.

* Trent, *Life of Simms*, p. 212.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER.

When the first number of *The Southern Literary Messenger* appeared it contained letters of encouragement and congratulation written to the publishers of the magazine by eminent men of many of the States of the Union. Among these expressions of approval and opinion favorable to the outlook of the enterprise, it is especially noteworthy that the Southern writers agree in believing the establishment of a vigorous literary journal a most important advance towards the attainment of a real literature in the South. The possibilities of the *Messenger* in this field were perceived by its first editors, who took care to emphasize this fact by frequent statements of the purpose of the magazine. For example, in the third number (for November, 1834) it is editorially stated that, "*The Messenger* is designed chiefly to encourage the practice of literary composition among our own writers"; and again, in an editorial of the following February, we find "its principal aim" has been "to foster and encourage native genius."

With such laudable and patriotic aims, "*The Southern Literary Messenger*" was begun in Richmond, Virginia, in the year 1834. Every condition seemed to favor the new enterprise. Not only did it receive the ready and sincere encouragement of many men of letters, but it was also singularly fortunate in the time of its beginning. There were great questions of far-reaching importance before the people of the United States, and in the South the heat of party discord was fast maturing the crysalis of the strife that was to come thirty years later. In 1830, Hayne and Webster had met in their memorable debate on the question of State Rights; then, two years later, South Carolina had passed her ordinance of nulli-

fication, and the consequent difficulties continued until Clay's Compromise Tariff gave a temporary relief. But though the tariff question was compromised, there was another great question, also involved in the State rights dispute, which threatened the country. This was the slavery question. The want of tactfulness in Jackson's administration had resulted in strife between the executive and legislative departments of the government, and where conciliation and compromise should have been employed obstinacy and narrow-mindedness had aggravated difficulties that could have been avoided by a more tactful policy. As von Holst has rightly said, "The administration of Jackson systematically undermined the public appreciation of right, and diminished the respect of the people for the good."

This preliminary consideration of the conditions of the *Messenger's* environment is essential to a proper appreciation of its relation to the public, and necessary if we would have a correct understanding of the great moving causes operative in the minds of the contributors. The long articles that now very naturally seem tedious and uninteresting, because of their minute dealing with the tariff question and their consequent citation of formidable tables of facts and figures, were then vital with interest to their authors and readers, to whom protection and free-trade, State-rights and federation, were of paramount importance. It is not to be understood from the emphasis that has been placed upon the influence and importance of questions of constitutional interpretation, that the *Messenger* was in any way given up to merely political discussion, for this was far from true; but the predominant interest of such questions as have been referred to caused them to exercise a powerful influence upon many writers whose work lay in other fields than those purely political.

The Southern Literary Messenger was fortunate, not only in its conditions and its situation in time, but also in the place selected as its home. The capital of Virginia was for many

reasons the most suitable city in the South for the establishment of a great Southern magazine. In addition to its prominence as the chief city of the chief State among the original founders of the Republic, Richmond was the most advantageous situation for the location of such an enterprise because of its middle position between the North and the extreme South, and because it offered, by virtue of its comparatively large number of cultured citizens, a fair prospect of a paying subscription list; and, furthermore, there was no rival magazine to dispute the possession of the field. Aside from the other advantages, the last-named circumstance was sufficient to give the choice to Richmond in preference to Charleston, South Carolina, which would have been in other respects, because of its well-known character as a centre of literary activity, a close rival to the Virginia capital. Then, too, to Charleston, and especially to New Orleans, there was attached the disadvantage of location too far South, a circumstance which would have resulted in giving the magazine a more distinctly sectional character.

Though so much seemed to favor the enterprise, it is not to be supposed that there was no difficulty in the way of the movement. Richmond and Virginia had already failed to give to similar undertakings sufficient support to ensure permanency, and every one recognized that there was need for more than mere verbal encouragement, if the magazine was to last. Again, while the fact that there was no rival in the field to contest the new publication's claims to popular support was in some respects an advantage, the circumstance had its disadvantages also. Of these, the chief was that there was no reading public accustomed to look to a home publication for periodical reading matter; for owing to the want of such a magazine, as well as to the dominating influence of the old country literature, the literary people of Virginia had long been regular subscribers to the great English quarterlies. The difficulty of overcoming this obstacle was well appreciated by the founder

of the *Messenger*, whose editorials were frequently pleas for home support of a home enterprise.

The man who undertook to meet these difficulties, and, practically alone, did meet and overcome them, was Thomas W. White, "a practical printer of Richmond." Strangely enough, Mr. White was not at all a literary man in the ordinary acceptance of the term, nor even a college graduate, but, on the contrary, a self-taught printer and practical business man, without wealth or large influence to aid him in so large an undertaking. He was born in the year 1789, and consequently was about forty-five years of age when he founded *The Southern Literary Messenger*, in August, 1834. The fact that he was then a mature man with years of varied experience in the printing business to assure a thorough knowledge of the practical question of money and means, was a circumstance that argued well for the future of the magazine, for this matter of finance had been the rock on which many similar enterprises had foundered through the unbusiness-like management of their literary proprietors. We cannot better complete this brief sketch of the first owner of the *Messenger* than by quoting from an article (*Messenger*, IX, p. 65), written shortly after the death of Mr. White, in 1843, by one who knew him well. In regard to Mr. White's founding the *Messenger*, he writes:

"With scanty funds—and with no family or other influence to aid him—on the contrary, with a host of private advisers to discourage the effort, he, nevertheless, with the countenance and agency of one or two chosen friends, resolved on the experiment.

"From his childhood he had to struggle with adversity; and, like Franklin, with no other but a self-taught education, he was thrown into the same calling—that of a printer's apprentice—with that illustrious sage. With no pretension to literature, as a classical or critical profession, he, nevertheless, possessed a singular tact and discernment which enabled him to distinguish the true and beautiful from what was false or deformed in

taste, or vicious or defective in morals. With a strange disinclination to write for his own popular magazine, he curiously combined a happy faculty and nervous energy in epistolary correspondence. If he was at times irritable, it was more the imperfection of the physical than the moral man. His heart was kind, his friendship ever true, and faithful, and his hand open as day to melting charity."

Such is the faithful description of the man who more than any one else labored to lay deep the foundations of a magazine that he believed would have a great formative power in the growth of the literature of the South.

It was well for the *Messenger* that there was this practical man at the helm, for to his perseverance and energy the long life and usefulness of the magazine is principally due. And it is to be borne in mind, also, that to him this was not merely a business enterprise to be fostered for the money that could be made by it—for if that had been all, it would soon have been given up as a failure; but his perseverance and determination were the outcome of an earnest desire to promote a movement that meant much to the new literature struggling almost for very existence.

While the principal burden of the practical side of the magazine was borne by Mr. White, he was not without support for the literary department of the *Messenger*; for among several literary men who assisted him with the supervision and selection of material, there was one, who more than all others, was responsible for the editorial department. This man was James E. Heath, who was really the editor of the *Messenger* from its beginning, in August, 1834, until May, 1835. We say he was really the editor, because it might be supposed that the proprietor, Thomas W. White, was also the editor, as this was stated on the first page of each issue of the magazine; but Mr. White had the greater part of the editorial work done for him by various men, whose names were not published, though it was frequently stated in "publishers' notices" that the proprietor and

nominal editor was assisted by certain literary men of established reputation in the world of letters." The care with which the names of the *sub rosa* editors were concealed renders it difficult to find out who they really were; but there is very conclusive evidence that the editor from the first number (August, 1834) to May, 1835, was James E. Heath, of Richmond, Virginia, who was one of the well-known literary men of that city when the *Messenger* was begun. This evidence consists of the fact that the editorial articles of this period bear a strong resemblance to contributions known to have been written by James E. Heath; and, furthermore, we have from the editor of the same magazine eight years later the explicit statement that Heath was the first editor. He was for a long time Auditor of the State of Virginia, but, in spite of his official duties, he found time to do literary work of various kinds; for, in addition to his very considerable writing for *The Southern Literary Messenger*, he was the author of a novel entitled "Edgehill," and of other works of less length.

As to the importance of his editorial supervision of the *Messenger*, the obligation due him is thus expressed in a "publisher's notice," written presumably by Mr. White, when Heath resigned his place as editor, in May, 1835:

"It is due to the gentleman who has acted as editor up to the present period that the publisher should, in parting with him, express that deep feeling of gratitude which his disinterested friendship could not fail to inspire. At the commencement of the *Messenger*, when the prospect of its success was doubtful, and when many judicious friends augured unfavorably of the enterprise, the late editor volunteered his aid to pilot the frail bark, if possible, into safe anchorage—nor did he desert it until all doubt of success had ceased. The efforts of that gentleman are the more prized because they were made at a considerable sacrifice of ease and leisure, in the midst, too, of avocations sufficiently arduous to occupy the entire attention of most men—and because they were rendered without hope or

expectation of reward. And the publisher embraces this occasion to declare that the success of the *Messenger* has been greatly owing to the judicious management of the editorial department by that gentleman. For services of so much value, rendered with no other object than a desire to promote the establishment of a literary periodical in Virginia, the publisher is deeply indebted to him—and the readers of the work will, we doubt not, long remember his efforts in their behalf. To him belongs the merit of having given his disinterested aid in the season of its early feebleness. His successor has but to follow in the path which has thus been marked out by a hardy and skilful literary pioneer."

This delineation of James E. Heath by his friend, the owner of the magazine, is sufficient testimony to the fact that the *Messenger* had in him an able guardian of its literary interests. With the many difficulties through which the magazine had to pass, these two—the one a practical printer and business man, the other a distinctly literary man—were well fitted to cope; and it is more than probable that if there had not been this combination of business ability and literary knowledge, with the ownership in the hands of the man of affairs, *The Southern Literary Messenger* might have gone the way of many other short-lived periodicals, whose downfall has been due to a lack of business ability on the part of their owners.

Under the care of these two men *The Southern Literary Messenger* was begun in Richmond, Va., in August of the year 1834. The office of the magazine was in what was known as the "old Museum building," which was on East Franklin street, where this street meets the Capitol Square on the east. Downstairs were newspaper offices, and the magazine rooms were on the second floor. Later the *Messenger* was moved to the foot of Governor street, into the building which was at one time "Davis's Hotel."

The first number of the "*Messenger*," August, 1834, contained but thirty-two pages, as did also the second number,

which was not issued until October. These two were, however, probably regarded as but one number by the publisher, for if these be numbered separately there were thirteen issues in the first volume. With the third number, that for November, the change was made to a monthly issue, and this number contained sixty-four pages instead of thirty-two. Among the avowed contributors were: Mrs. Sigourney, R. H. Wilde, and William Wirt.

In addition to this, we read that the editor desired to "issue the *Messenger*, if possible, between the 20th and last day of each month." Beginning with this number, the magazine was issued regularly each month, finishing the year 1834 and ending with the September number, which completed the first volume of seven hundred and eighty pages.

James E. Heath's editorship had ceased with the May issue (Vol. I, No. 9), and the remaining four numbers were edited by Mr. White, who was assisted by other of his literary friends. The fact that in the March number there appeared the first contribution of Edgar Allan Poe, "Berenice, A Tale," and that from this number on he was a frequent contributor to the pages of the "*Messenger*," has led some of the biographers of the poet into the error of stating that he was editor of the *Messenger* from May, 1835, on, or from August of this year. The fact is that Mr. Poe's editorship did not begin until the first number of the second volume—that is, December, 1835. As before stated, the first volume was completed with the September issue, and no magazine was published in October and November; thus it was that December, 1835, began the second volume. The biographers referred to above have, in all probability, based their opinion as to Mr. Poe's editorship upon the following "publisher's notice," which appeared on the first page of Volume I, No. 9 (May, 1835):

"The publisher has the pleasure of announcing to his friends and patrons that he has made an arrangement with a gentleman of approved literary taste and attainments, to whose special

management the editorial department of the "*Messenger*" has been confided. This arrangement he confidently believes will increase the attractions of his pages—for, besides the acknowledged capacity of the gentleman referred to, his abstraction from other pursuits will enable him to devote his exclusive attention to the work."

That the person here referred to was an unknown friend of the proprietor, or, at least, certainly not Edgar Allan Poe, is readily seen from a similar notice on the first page of the next volume (II, p. 1) of the *Messenger*: The passage mentioned reads:

"The gentleman referred to in the ninth number of the *Messenger* as filling its editorial chair retired thence with the eleventh number; and the intellectual department of the paper is now under the conduct of the proprietor, assisted by a gentleman of distinguished literary talents. Thus seconded, he is sanguine in the hope of rendering the second volume, which the present number commences, *at least* as deserving of support as the former."

From this it will be seen that the editor referred to in the former notice was only in office for three issues of the "*Messenger*" (May-July, inclusive), while it is positively known that Poe was editor of the magazine for more than a year after the last of these dates. Not only so, but it can be readily shown on the testimony of the proprietor himself, that Poe did not become editor until December, 1835. For first, there is the statement in the passage quoted that the magazine had but just been turned over to a new editor; and, again, on the 96th page of the third volume (January, 1837, which was Poe's last number), we find in an address "To the Patrons of *The Southern Literary Messenger*" the following statement: "In issuing the present number of the *Messenger* (the first of a new volume) I deem it proper to inform my subscribers, and the public generally, that Mr. Poe, who has filled the editorial department for the last twelve numbers with so much ability, retired from that station

on the 3d instant, and the entire management of the work again devolves upon myself alone."

Now, since there was no December number issued in 1836, the "twelve numbers" referred to in the last quotation as the time of Poe's editorship, fix the beginning of his term of office as December, 1835. And moreover, when Mr. White says, "the entire management of the work *again* devolves on myself alone," this serves to establish conclusively the fact that the last two numbers of the first volume were edited by him alone, for at no other time previous to the writing of this "notice" was he without an editor.

From the time when Edgar Allan Poe began to contribute regularly to the "*Messenger*" the foundation was laid for that popularity which it attained during his editorship. Before he took official charge of the publication, Poe had contributed: a, "Bernice, A Tale"; b, "Lionizing"; c, "Morella"; d, "Hans Pfaal"; e, "Bon-Bon"; f, "The Coliseum"; and other products of his genius. It is not surprising that after such an introduction Poe's regular work as editor of the magazine soon materially enlarged the circulation of the *Messenger* and secured for it recognition and popularity in regions where it was entirely unknown before he set the mark of his genius upon it. In addition to the attraction which Poe's prose skill lent to the pages of the "*Messenger*," there was the additional charm of his poems, some of which, however, had already been published in other magazines.

Other compositions made their first appeal for public appreciation through the "*Messenger*," but many of them underwent revision before they reached the form in which we now have them.

Another characteristic feature of Poe's work as editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger* was the vigor and force of his reviews of books and his shorter critical articles on individual poems or tales. It was eminently in accordance with the strictness of his views on literature and artistic composition that he

should be relentless in his denunciation of what he deemed violation of the sacred laws of art; and it was not strange that the defence of his pronounced views on such subjects often led him into literary dogmatism or into violent condemnation of the work of other authors, on no other ground than that they failed to conform to his own canons of what was tasteful and elegant. Such criticism, without just and defensible criteria of judgment, almost inevitably led to what others called unfair and abusive depreciation of an author's work; and this is in part true, and though Poe did sometimes lay aside proper criticism for the less scientific but more vigorous weapon of free-handed abuse, it is also undeniable that he was often marvellously acute in his method of laying bare the shams of literary quackery, and helpful in his destruction of the false and undeserving.

Under Poe's able direction the "*Messenger*" advanced both in prosperity and in the character of its published articles; each month a number was published with a regularity that had not marked the first volume. The twelfth number of the second volume (November, 1836) completed the issue for that year. No December number was published, and the next month the third volume was begun. This number, January, 1837, was the last one for which Poe wrote as editor, but not all of the editorial work of this issue was from his pen. This is explicitly stated in an editorial article, which says: "It is perhaps due to Mr. Poe to state that he is not responsible for any of the articles which appear in the present number, except the reviews of *Bryant's Poems*, *George Balcombe*, *Irring's Astoria*, *Reynold's Address on the South Sea Expedition*, *Anthon's Cicero*—the first number of *Arthur Gordon Pym*, a sea story, and two *Poetical Effusions* (sic), to which his name is prefixed."

It is undoubtedly true, as Mr. Stoddard has said in his "*Memoir*," that Poe's manner of living was not in accord with some of the old-fashioned ideas of Mr. White, and when Poe's dissipation brought him into conflict with the founder's views on sobriety, there was only one result to be expected, the severance

of Poe's connection with the *Messenger*. Though Mr. White treated the matter in as delicate a manner as possible, and did what he could to prevent popular knowledge of the cause of the change—as when he stated in the January number (III, p. 72) that "Mr. Poe's attention had been called in another direction"—nevertheless, we know from one of his letters to Poe, written when the *quondam* editor was desirous of returning to his desk, that it was his former associate's intemperance that prompted Mr. White to refuse him the place.

As to the plans of the proprietor when his brilliant editor "had been called in another direction," the same editorial from which we quoted above continues thus: "I have only to add, that in prosecuting my publication, whilst I shall hope and ask nothing for myself but the fair reward which is due under the blessing of divine providence, to honest industry and good intention, I shall leave my contributors and subscribers to divide among themselves the honor of making and supporting a work which shall be worthy of them and creditable to the literary character of our common country, and more particularly of our Southern States."

When Edgar Allan Poe's connection with *The Southern Literary Messenger* ended, in January, 1837, the whole care of the magazine fell upon the proprietor and founder. Several of his literary friends soon came to his aid with either direct editorial assistance or frequent contributions. Chief among these timely helpers were Mr. Lucien Minor and Judge St. George Tucker, who, in spite of the claims made upon their time by their professional duties, found opportunity to help the persevering owner of the *Messenger* in his resolute effort to continue the publication of the magazine. With such help and his own untiring efforts, Mr. White conducted the *Messenger* for the next two and a half or three years; and it is a noticeable fact, and a natural result of Thomas W. White's business-like habits, that the first volume published by him after the loss of his bril-

liant editor was the only one up to that time that was regularly issued for each month of the year.

At about the beginning of 1840 new life was infused into the *Messenger*, when its editorial supervision was entrusted to Matthew Fontaine Maury. This remarkable man was a native of Virginia, but when he was very young he was taken by his parents to Tennessee, where he received his elementary training under Bishop Otey. In 1825 he was appointed midshipman in the navy, and served first on the "Brandywine," during a long cruise in the Mediterranean Sea, and two and a half years in the Pacific ocean, and then on the sloop-of-war "Vincennes." For three or four years he was with this vessel, in which he visited the South Sea Islands, China, Manila, the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena and other remote parts. Maury was a man of energy and purpose, and he turned the voyage to good account by collecting material for numerous works, which he afterwards published. In 1830, he returned to New York, and was promoted to be acting master of the sloop-of-war Falmouth, which was bound for the Pacific ocean. His promotions for the next six years raised him to the rank of lieutenant, and, in addition, he was shortly afterwards appointed "astronomer and assistant hydrographer" for the expedition to be made under Commodore Ap-Catesby Jones. This appointment, however, Lieutenant Maury resigned, and took part in a "survey of Southern ports." In the meantime he had published in *Sillman's Journal*, January, 1839, his work on "Pacific Navigation" and "Doubling Cape Horn," and in *The Southern Literary Messenger* an article on "Southern Commerce." After the surveying trip along the Southern coast, Maury returned to Tennessee; but he was shortly afterwards seriously injured while in Ohio, and so he was forced to retire from active service. It was about this time that he began his series of articles for the *Messenger*, entitled "Scraps from the Lucky Bag."

We have outlined Lieutenant Maury's life up to this point in order that it may be understood what manner of man now

took charge of the magazine; for it is essential to a proper appreciation of the *Messenger* that we have some knowledge of the individuality of its editors, since the publication is always imbued with the characteristic spirit of its literary pilot.

We see, then, that in Lieutenant Maury there were good qualifications for such work, for he was not only thoroughly acquainted with the intricacies of governmental policy in regard to the navy (and herein was involved the much-mooted question of government expenditure), but his resourceful intellect had been employed both in the collection of material for literary work and the acquirement of a prose style admirable for its clearness and force. Much of his work for *The Southern Literary Messenger* was unsigned, but many of his articles may be identified by the signature "A Brother Officer" and "Harry Bluff."

The numbers of the magazine for 1840 and 1841 were not regularly issued, for five times within those two years bi-monthly numbers were published, but with such increase in the number of pages as to make each volume of about the regular size. The two succeeding volumes were regularly issued.

On January 9, 1843, Thomas W. White died from the effects of a stroke of paralysis received while he was at the supper table of the Astor House, in New York, in September, 1842. This was a sudden misfortune to the *Messenger*, which thus lost the man who, most of all, had been the guardian of its early years. In the mean time Maury's editorship ended. He had conducted the magazine by mail from Washington, using in the transaction of this business "a frank" obtained for him by a friend in the Federal Government at the time. Further evidence of his editorship, which is not mentioned in the biography* by his daughter, is the existence of a manuscript contributed to the *Messenger*, and bearing notes in Maury's easily identified writing.

* A Life of Matthew Fontaine Maury, by Diana F. M. Corbin. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. 1886.

In July, 1843, the proprietary right in the *Messenger* passed from the estate of Mr. White into the hands of Mr. B. B. Minor, the next editor.

With the change of editors came a change of publishers also, for the cover of the *Messenger* for August, 1843, bears the statement that it was published by the proprietor. Beginning with February, 1845, the publisher was William McFarlane, until January, 1846, when we find the name of "S. Hart, Sr., Charleston, S. Carolina," in addition to that of McFarlane. In January, 1847, to these names are added those of "Wiley & Putnam, London," and still later, March, 1847, while the other names were retained as before, the Richmond publishers were given as

Jno. W. Fergusson, } Richmond, Va.
Wm. McFarlane,

Mr. Minor brought to his work an admirable equipment for the duties that lay before him. Not only was he furnished with a collegiate education, and determined literary aspirations, but also—and this was a fortunate bulwark to the business interests of the magazine—he was a lawyer of some experience as a practitioner in the city of Richmond.

Hence it was that the *Messenger* entered upon its new course with every prospect of a successful continuance and reinvigorated vitality. Then, too, since the editor had the co-operation of a number of able friends, such as Thomas C. Reynolds and Augustus A. Meyers, there was little danger of a dearth of good reading matter in the pages of the magazine.

As stated above, Mr. Minor's editorship began with the August number, in 1843. This volume, No. IX, was completed with regular issues of the magazine, as were also the next four volumes.

Late in 1845, Mr. Minor, while in Charleston, South Carolina, had a conference with William Gilmore Simms, who was then editing his *Simms' Southern and Western Monthly Magazine*. The result of this interview was the purchase of Simms's

magazine, and its consolidation with the *Southern Literary Messenger*, whose title was changed, January, 1846, to "*The Southern and Western Literary Messenger and Review*."

With Volume XIII, No. X (October, 1847), the editorship of Mr. B. B. Minor ended, when he sold the *Messenger* to John R. Thompson and gave up his literary work to become "Principal of the Virginia Female Institute," at Staunton. Speaking of the man who was to take his place as editor of the *Messenger*, Mr. Minor wrote (Richmond, October 25, 1847): "Well endowed by nature, having enjoyed the advantages of the best collegiate education, fond of literature, acquainted with its best authors, accustomed to the use of his pen, and quite enthusiastic in his devotion to the *Messenger*, he bids fair to raise it above its present high and honorable position, and we hope to enjoy the pleasure—for it would be a pleasure—of seeing the light which we have endeavored to shed from its pages eclipsed by his more brilliant appearing."

John R. Thompson was well qualified to fill the place of responsibility as editor of the great Virginia monthly. Like his predecessor, he was a college-bred man, a graduate of the University of Virginia, and the possessor of gifts which soon gave him prominence among literary men of the South. He entered upon his editorial duties with zeal and confidence, and under his supervision the *Messenger* began a new career of prosperity and popularity.

When Thompson took charge of the *Messenger*, in the fall of 1847, the title of the magazine was "*The Southern and Western Literary Messenger and Review*," and the title was retained until the first number of the fourteenth volume (January, 1848), when the old name of the *Messenger* was again printed on its cover. The next four volumes were regularly issued, with the two exceptions of a combined issue for September and October, 1849, and a similar number for October and November, 1851. Each of these volumes contained seven hundred and sixty-four pages, which was about the average size of the yearly

issues until the beginning of the "New Series," in 1856 (Old Series, Vol. XXII).

In the mean time, in 1852, Thompson sold the proprietary right of the *Messenger* to his printers, McFarlane & Fergusson, but he continued to edit the magazine.

The next three volumes completed what is known as the "Old Series" of the *Messenger*, in contradistinction to the "New Series," which was begun in 1856. Up to this time each volume had regularly consisted of twelve numbers of about sixty-four pages each, but now the volumes were completed semi-annually, and consisted of six numbers of about eighty pages each. In addition to this change, the size of the page and of the type was reduced, and consequently the volumes of the "New Series" are smaller books than those issued before.

Two years before this, in 1854, the editor had stated that his subscription list was growing, and by the beginning of the "New Series" the *Messenger* was thriving both in its business department and in widespread popular appreciation. For four years and a half longer, John R. Thompson edited the magazine, and during that time published nine volumes of the "New Series," with the exception of the last number of the first volume of 1860, that in the June issue, which was edited by Thompson's successor. In publishing these last issues, from 1848 to 1860, Thompson had strong helpers in the gifted men and women who contributed to his magazine. For 1848, his chief contributors were: H. T. Tuckerman, W. H. Holcombe, Mrs. M. G. Buchanan, Lieutenant Maury (who wrote in favor of a national observatory), P. P. Cooke, A. B. Meek, and Mrs. E. J. Eames. The next year the chief names on his contributors' list were: I. K. Marvel, Lieutenant Maury, Poe ("Marginalia"), P. P. Cooke, and Tuckerman. Conspicuous among the signed articles for 1850 were those by W. H. Holcombe, Charles Lanwan, J. M. Legare, and Mrs. E. J. Eames. The next year, in addition to Maury, Tuckerman, and Mrs. Eames, the Rev. J. C. McCabe, W. P. Mulchinock, and Charles Campbell (the "C. C." of the earlier

numbers) were frequent contributors. For 1852 and 1853, Thompson had most of these writers to rely on, and, in addition to them, Paul Hamilton Hayne, the sweet singer of South Carolina. During eighteen hundred and fifty-four and five the most frequent contributors were Mrs. Mowatt, J. C. McCabe, Hayne (especially), and two others whose names are now familiar in Southern literature—James Barron Hope and “Marion Harland.”

The next five years were perhaps the high-water mark of Thompson’s editorship. Even without discussion of the articles included in these volumes, the high class of work that was done for them is apparent from the list of those who were employing this last quiet period, before the turmoil of war came, in literary composition.

The chief contributors for those five volumes were:

1856—J. C. McCabe, Thomas Dunn English, W. H. Holcombe, Henry Timrod, Paul Hamilton Hayne, and Thomas Bailey Aldrich.

1857—James Barron Hope, John Esten Cooke, John Pendleton Kennedy, and St. George Tucker.

1858—Dr. George Bagby (“Mozis Addums”), J. E. Cooke, R. M. T. Hunter, Hayne, English, Timrod, and James P. Holcombe.

1859—H. T. Tuckerman, William Gilmore Simms, English, Hayne, J. E. Cooke, and Ed. Everett.

1860—Dr. Bagby, J. E. Cooke, Holcombe, and Faraday.

Was not this an array of talented writers to gladden the heart of any editor? Surely those were golden numbers of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, when its pages were filled with the poems of Henry Timrod and Paul Hamilton Hayne, the songs of Aldrich, of Simms, and of English, and the finished prose of John Esten Cooke, Kennedy, Aldrich, and Dr. Bagby.

With the May number, 1860 (Vol. XXX), John R. Thompson’s connection with the *Messenger* ceased, and the magazine came under the able supervision of Dr. George Bagby, the “Mozis Addums” of the earlier issues.

The Southern Literary Messenger for June, 1860, contained an article on the subject of Thompson's departure from Virginia to make his home in Georgia. Speaking of the former editor's connection with the *Messenger*, the author of the editorial wrote: "The unknown aspirant for literary honors in 1847, leaves the *Messenger* in 1860 a man distinguished in every part of the Confederacy, in the North scarcely less than in the South, as a poet, a scholar, a lecturer, an editor." This was high praise, no doubt, but it was true, for John R. Thompson had made his mark in the literature of his land; but he has never yet been appreciated as highly as he deserves.

The same number from which we have quoted contains a description of the complimentary dinner to John R. Thompson, Esq., Tuesday, May 15, 1860. The author of the article was probably Dr. George Bagby (the new editor), who knew very well both the proper disposition and the proper description of a farewell banquet—notwithstanding the vigor with which he could maintain the superiority of "Cornfield Peas" over every other known edible substance. He writes: "The company assembled a little after 5 o'clock P. M., and exchanged salutations over a bowl of delicious punch. Dinner was served at 6 o'clock. Mr. McFarlane (of the publishers) sat at the head of the table, with Mr. Thompson on his right. Among the invited guests were John Esten Cooke, Esq., Dr. H. G. Latham, of Lynchburg, and Dr. Bagby." The writer describes the feast, Mr. McFarlane's speech of regret at the departure of Thompson, and the poet's feeling response. Other speeches followed, wine and wit sparkled, songs were sung, and Thompson recited his beautiful poem to "Virginia." Such were the closing scenes of the uncrowned laureate's editorship.

The characteristic quality of Thompson's successor was what we might call his super-Gallie vivacity. The bright play of his wit enlivened many a page that had once been dull with leaden pedanticism. In addition to this charm of humorous style, Dr. Bagby possessed other qualifications for the editorship of

the magazine that had been accustomed to the strong hand of such men as Edgar Allan Poe and John R. Thompson. Years of experience in newspaper and journalistic work had taught him well the nice points in a publisher's work, and hence it was as an experienced journalist that he took charge of the *Messenger*. The work soon showed the quickening effect of his more skilful regard for his reading public than had been the custom of the earlier editors. Instead of long articles on the tariff, the navy and army, and colonial history, the *Messenger* was now enlivened with Dr. Bagby's sketches of "Mozis Ad-dums's" experiences as a visitor to Washington. These stories were based upon Dr. Bagby's life in Washington as correspondent of the New Orleans *Crescent*, and they were full of humor in the narrative of an unsophisticated patent-seeker's adventures in the capital.

In addition to the comparatively new feature of the *Messenger's* management, four of the six numbers in Dr. Bagby's first volumes contained illustrated articles: (a) "Life and Literature in Japan," seven illustrations; (b) "Fun from North Carolina," three illustrations; (c) Faraday's "Popular Lectures," ten illustrations; and (d) "A Mississippi Hero," three pictures, with a picture of Adalina Patti; and (e) "Lady Mary Montague," one illustration, and a second series of Faraday's "Popular Lectures," ten illustrations. The next volume was also illustrated, and both these volumes contained the regular six numbers. The twelfth volume, New Series, was also regularly issued, but the next year's *Messenger* came out very irregularly. The numbers for February and March were combined in one issue, as were also July and August, September and October, and November and December; and the eight numbers published made up Volumes XXXIV, XXXV, and XXXVI, with a total of only 698 pages. This combination volume is not of the "New Series," which ended with 1861 (New Series 22), and the next year the editor returned to the old form of about sixty-four pages to a number, and these appeared

regularly, except that Numbers XI and XII were combined in one double issue.

It must be borne in mind that for several years the war had been going on, and with Richmond in the centre of the struggle, it is strange that the *Messenger* was continued at all. But in spite of great difficulty in procuring paper for the magazine and printers to do the work, the publication was continued at the cost of great effort on the part of its editor and publishers. As we have just said, it was very hard to get material or workmen, especially during 1862 and 1863, and consequently the volumes for these years were very poorly printed on very poor paper. Then, in addition to these troubles, the editor, though not at all fit for service, had, as he believed it his bounden duty to do, gone off to the war. Fortunately, however, for the *Messenger*, he was very soon released from service, and returned to his editorial work, which he prosecuted until the second number of Volume XXXVIII—that is to say, January, 1864, his last number. At that time* the *Messenger* was bought by Wedderburn & Alfriend, and these continued the magazine under the editorship of the latter, Frank H. Alfriend. Wedderburn was a young man of energy and ambition from New Orleans.

From his editorials, especially his salutatory address in the February number, it is evident that Alfriend was an earnest, clear-sighted young man, who wrote a good style, despised cheap sentimentality, and appreciated the very considerable difficulties of the work that he had undertaken.

The new office of the "*Literary Messenger*" was at No. 5 Fourteenth street, between Main and Franklin streets, under the Exchange Hotel.

It was thought by friends of the *Messenger* that, in spite of many difficulties, there was still to be prosperity for the magazine. For example, when the magazine changed hands, we find the following, apparently from the pen of the retiring editor, as to the new proprietors, who, he says, are "young gentlemen

*Exact date of sale, December 23, 1863.

brimful of energy and ambition, with abundant means, and, above all, imbued with correct opinions in regard to the proper mode of developing a literary journal. They intend to make the *Messenger*, both externally and internally, far more inviting than it has heretofore been; to pay for contributions, to advertise liberally; to secure agencies in all the principal cities and towns of the Confederacy; to enlist the best and brightest talent in the land; and while upholding a lofty standard of literature, so to enliven and invigorate the old magazine, as to enlist the favor and attract the admiration of all classes of society, except such as delight in productions intrinsically low and puerile. . . . They are prepared to impart to the business management that energy and system without which no enterprise can or ought to prosper, and to give to the editorial department that undivided attention which a first-class magazine imperatively demands."

All this was very true and laudable, no doubt; but there were great events taking place which brought to naught the good intentions and plans of the editors and their friends. As an example of what a change had been wrought by the depreciation of money as the war progressed, in 1861 the price of the magazine was "\$3.00, in advance," but by the beginning of 1864 the price had increased to \$10.00 for twelve months, \$6.00 for six months, if before March 1st; after that date the price was to be \$12.00 for twelve months, and \$8.00 for six months. By March, however, money was still further depreciated, and so the price was raised to \$15.00 a year. When it is considered that in the same number from which these last prices are quoted, pills were advertised at \$3.00 a box, it is readily seen that business interests were in a bad plight in the city of Richmond, which was, in this respect, little, if at all, worse than other parts of the South. Then, too, paper was very scarce, and good printers scarcer still; so finally, the experiment was tried of moving the *Messenger* to Washington and continuing it there; but the plan was not successful, and after publishing four num-

bers, the publication ceased, within one month of the thirtieth anniversary of its establishment, in 1834.

When the war brought the *Messenger* to its untimely end, its thirty years of publication had enabled it to do a great deal to stimulate and preserve much that is worth keeping in Southern literature. Even if its editors did carry their eclecticism too far, and in spite of the fact that much merely space-filling matter was published, these were not sufficient to outweigh or to balance the very considerable amount of truly valuable literature that was included in its pages; and aside from the value of the magazine as a literary *campus Martius*, which was a sufficient reason for its existence, the artistic excellence of some of its contents is such as to need no apology to those who have read them, and to those who have not read them and yet criticise them (as the manner of some is), no apology is due. Taken all in all, the South produced no magazine that had a better right to live, few that reached at their best so high a standard, and fewer still that did so much for the general welfare of Southern literature.

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